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NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

August 29, 1939

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CARTOONS BY GROPPER, RICHTER, AND GARDNER REA

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Between Ourselves

IN AN early issue we shall publish, in continuation of Robert Terrall's series on American newspapers, the first of two articles on the Hearst strike in Chicago. Mr. Terrall, who has been journeying westward, stopped off for two weeks in Chicago to delve into the complete story of the eight-mnoth-old strike of the Newspaper Guild against the Chicago *American* and *Herald & Examiner*. The first article will deal with the background and developments of the $5,000,000 strike, and the succeeding week's installment with the current situation, including two priceless interviews Mr. Terrall had with Hearst scabs.

Although the New York heat wave is at its crest, the news of the Soviet-German Trade Pact that Premier Molotov has been talking about for the past year has sent folks scurrying about as on a day in early December. The phone has been buzzing with inquiries and requests for clarification about the latest diplomatic doings. The Quai D'Orsay or No. 10 Downing Street could not be a busier office. Much of this confusion among our readers has been due to the screwball explanations of the New York papers whose editors seem not to have read their copies of Stalin's or Molotov's speeches at the last USSR Communist Party Congress in Moscow last February. Other inquiries we have received call upon us to assume the mantle of the late Evangeline Adams. This we cannot do, not operating on the crystal ball editorial policy of our capitalist contemporaries.

But if there are any of our readers who may wish to ask us any questions concerning the important events in Europe, not covered in our articles or editorials, they may avail themselves of our "What's on Your Mind?" department which is at their service.

NM contributors Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, James W. Ford, Ella Reeve Bloor, and Robert Minor form part of the list of contributors to a magnificent special issue of the *Communist,* marking the Twentieth Anniversary of the Communist Party of the USA. The 125-page issue constitutes an admirable history of twenty years of party work and is indispensable to any progressive library.

Many readers have commended NM for our ad in the New York *Daily News* announcing Robert Terrall's article on that paper. The paper's advertising censors had held up the ad for two days until they finally risked losing their two million circulation by running it. Every newsstand in the vicinity of the *News* skyscraper hounded us for more and more copies after the word got around among the employees. Everyone from the copy boys to Captain Patterson, publisher, was ogling Terrall's piece. We have heard the reactions of the copy boys but the captain won't talk.

Editor Joseph North spoke on the New Hollywood, at Camp Unity last weekend. The eight hundred auditors asked every question up to and including, "Who is Shirley Temple's current boy friend?" At the same time Simon Breines, United States consulting architect on the Soviet Pavilion at the World's Fair, had an excited audience at Camp Beacon.

Ruth McKenney is being eagerly awaited at Unity where she will speak for NM Summer Forums, Sunday the 27th, on "The Writer Today." Miss McKenney is the author of two best sellers, *My Sister Eileen* and the gripping book on labor in Akron, *Industrial Valley.*

Dale Kramer, columnist on the columnists, speaks this weekend at both Camp Beacon and Chester's Zunbarg at Woodbourne, N. Y., on "Columnists under the X-Ray."

Edward Goodman of New York City, who recently won a $10 prize in NM's slogan contest, has returned the check with the following explanation:

"The only kick I have against NEW MASSES is that I can never go to bed on Thursday. It's always well into Friday morning before I finish reading the entire contents. I can't break away from the habit or the magazine and I don't want to. So of course I did want to contribute to your last drive for funds. But my bank balance and my budget have been acting as though they were Congress and the President. Now that I've been 'paid to see a hit show,' please accept your check back in tardy payment of the pledge I didn't make but wished to. Ever more power to you!"

Ben Pinchot

Corliss Lamont

Mr. Lamont describes his family background in his article in the current issue. A son of T. P. Lamont, the Morgan partner, he has taught in the philosophy department at Columbia University. He is the editor of an anthology of poetry, "Man Answers Death." Mr. Lamont, after visiting the Soviet Union several years ago, became an avowed friend of the USSR and of socialism. His writings have frequently appeared in NM and "Soviet Russia Today."

Who's Who

RICHARD GOODMAN is European correspondent for NM. . . . Ella Winter is the author of *Red Virtue* and a frequent contributor to liberal periodicals. . . . Thomas Wharton is the pseudonym of a Manhattan newspaperman. For obvious reasons, the author did not sign his real name to the article in this issue. . . . Margaret I. Lamont is a New York writer who has been active in the Socialist Party. . . . Walter H. Waggoner, a recent graduate of Columbia University, is a newspaperman in Poughkeepsie, N. Y. . . . Elizabeth Lawson is director of the Summer Day School of the Workers School of New York. . . . Joseph Starobin has contributed many articles and book reviews to NM. He is the editor of the *Young Communist Review.*

Flashbacks

THE world's first working class political party held its first convention in Philadelphia, Aug. 25, 1828. Members of this Workingmen's Party held that "We are prepared to maintain that all who toil have a natural and inalienable right to reap the fruits of their own industry; and that they who by labor (the only source) are the authors of every comfort, convenience, and luxury, are in justice entitled to an equal participation, not only in the meanest and the coarsest, but likewise in the richest and the choicest of them all." . . . The National Trades Union, the first nationwide federation of city central labor bodies, opened its first convention in New York, Aug. 26, 1834. . . . The Women's Suffrage Amendment was ratified Aug. 28, 1920.

This Week

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXII AUGUST 29, 1939 NUMBER 10

Poland's Chances

Richard Goodman gives a blueprint of the intrigue about Poland. The new style Munich maneuvers. The "war of nerves" and other axis tactics.

Paris August 20 (By Cable).

THE Nazi-declared "war of nerves," launched with the express purpose of bringing about a new capitulation of the democracies in the face of axis demands, has hit a new high. Basing themselves on fifth column elements, Berlin and its controlled press declare that there cannot be a "compromise" over Danzig, that there is only one possible "solution"—the annexation of the Free City to the Third Reich. More than that: the German demands have now been stepped up to include the whole of the Polish Corridor, and even Polish Silesia. Simultaneously with this self-exposure of the Nazi case (the Corridor is 90 percent Polish; hasn't the main Nazi argument for annexation of Danzig been that the Free City is "German"?) the Goebbels press campaign of hatred and intimidation against Poland has reached heights unparalleled by even the campaign against Czechoslovakia last September.

Meanwhile the other end of the axis hasn't been idle. The Italian press not only declares that the issue behind Danzig is the issue of a "general revision of peace treaties," but it openly proclaims that "the Italy of Mussolini wants decisive war." Reenforcing this blackmail, the German press, commenting on Italian maneuvers, talks of the Italian army striking "at the heart of the enemy," meaning France.

CIANO AND RIBBENTROP

These are the first public results of the meeting of Ciano and Ribbentrop at Salzburg. They give a clue to what was discussed there. Coupling what has leaked out of the Burckhardt-Hitler encounter with this revealing press campaign, and with information filtering from Berlin and Rome on the Salzburg deliberations, it is possible with some degree of accuracy to explain the political line of the axis as follows. Berlin and Rome believe that if a war of nerves is sufficiently drummed up in the next week or so, and if strategic steps of sufficiently public character are taken, it will be possible with the help of the fifth columns in Britain, France, Poland, and, significantly, the USA, to force through some "settlement" of the Danzig issue. This will in fact—though perhaps not all at once—give Hitler what he demands. In any case it will enable him to go to Nuremberg with something big enough to figure as a victory. Then and only then, when the democracies have given a "guarantee" of their "good faith," will it be possible for a conference to be held, discussing "general settlement," "general revision of treaties," or what you will. In other words, the democracies must hand over Danzig to Hitler, thereby destroying Poland, before the axis will let them consider Italian claims in the Mediterranean, Franco's claim to Gibraltar, and common axis demands in southeast and eastern Europe.

Now, as will readily be realized, the key to this political plan is whether or not a sufficient "terrorization" campaign—combining hate propaganda, old "whispering" tactics, and strategic moves—can be developed to force the democracies to capitulate. It must be said that although everywhere the fifth columnites and appeasers are working overtime, the apparent dominant tendency is to stand firm, especially in Poland and in France. The question, however, is, first, whether this attitude will be maintained; and second, whether this resistance is real, evident, and sufficient to call the axis bluff successfully. Let none forget that there is less bluff today in the axis attitude than there was last September, although the weaknesses of the two axis powers still make it evident that the major part of their attitude is a bluff. In other words, are the democracies firm enough in their attitude to convince the aggressors that they really mean business? The dominant impression among realistic observers here, in London, Warsaw, and Moscow is that it is not. Therein lies the danger.

Consider, for example, the following aspects of the situation. In the first place, the Moscow negotiations: The situation is now very different from the way Mr. Chamberlain tried to paint it when announcing the dispatch of the military missions just before the House of Commons rose. Not only has Strang been recalled, but political negotiations have been suspended. More than that, it now turns out that the British mission was sent to Moscow without sufficient powers to sign any military agreement worth having (the French did better, instructing their men to sign anything the British agreed to). In the second place, there are the various semi-official attempts to recreate a Munich atmosphere—the Burckhardt "holiday" with Hitler, Henderson off to Salzburg, the Ribbentrop-Hamilton Fish "balloon" for an "armistice," and Lord Kemsley's "appeasement" plan. In the third place, there is the wholly unwarranted complacency and inactivity on the part of the British government in the face of an intensified propaganda and strategic campaign of the axis (expressed in Chamberlain's holiday and in the fact that anyone reading the British press during the last week would imagine that the democracies were winning in a war of nerves, hands down). To some extent—though considerably less—this is true of the French government.

AXIS STRATEGY

Finally, there is the failure of Britain and France to react to the developing danger in

McGill

NAZI ENCIRCLEMENT OF POLAND. *It took a step forward with the occupation of Slovakia. German troops are now within striking distance of Hungary, and are brought within range of Rumania's frontier. There are at least four passes along the Tatra Mountains on the Slovak-Polish frontier through which Germany can attack. The Soviet border is of course undefended.*

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southeast Europe, especially in Hungary, and consequently Rumania. Here it is necessary to consider briefly the axis' strategic plan. Calculating on continued London sabotage of the Moscow negotiations, the Nazi government and high command reason thus. We can get pretty far with our insistence on Danzig. Without the determining and decisive factor of the whole situation operating—the Red Army—we can always fall back if necessary on "Plan B." Plan B is roughly this: The axis is at present unable to launch a "lightning war" against the West. But with the USSR out of the picture it would be possible to wage such a war in a limited section of eastern and southeastern Europe, remaining if necessary on the defensive in the West. Following a German victory in eastern and southeast Europe an armistice would be offered to the Western powers, upon the acceptance of which eastern and southeastern Europe could be organized as a base, enabling the axis to launch a little later, and with some chance of success, a lightning war against the West.

Naturally, if this organization, especially of southeastern Europe, can be achieved or at least started without a conflict, so much the better for the axis. It would weaken the strategic position of both Poland and Rumania, thereby rendering it easier to force the former to capitulate. In the second place, if war did become necessary, this would shorten the possible duration of necessary *Blitzangriff*. The vital significance of the so-called German-Slovak treaty by which Slovakia is occupied by Reichswehr troops and becomes virtually a third Nazi "protectorate" thus becomes clear. Not only is Poland now encircled by Nazi troops on three sides, but Germany is strategically in a better position to get a foothold in Hungary; even, perhaps, as a preliminary to the Danzig aggression, to invade that country. (The occupation of Slovakia is a consequence of, first, growing Hungarian resistance to Nazi demands and, second, of the scandalous neglect of Hungary by the Western democracies.) Obviously it is impossible here to go fully into Hungary's position. But it is necessary to state that the refusal of Hungary to walk further into the lion's mouth than she already is by accepting as compensation for German colonization and formal adherence to the axis through a military alliance with the Reich a large slice of Slovakia—in fact, all save a strategically important strip along the Polish frontier—forced Berlin to occupy the whole of that unhappy territory.

THE ROLE OF THE APPEASERS

Actually, then, the present situation reduces itself to the following: By stepping up its terrorization campaign and improving as far as possible its strategic position, the axis hopes to obtain the capitulation of Poland and its allies. Indeed, it seems probable that what Berlin—and the Munichois in Britain, France, and the USA—are hoping for is that it will be possible to announce that Berlin and Warsaw have reached an agreement over the surrender of Danzig through secret negotiations, following which the British and French governments would adopt a "well, what can we do?" attitude. In this way there would be no need for an open conference—which Berlin says she won't accept, and which in any case would be opposed by the majority of people in Britain and France—at least before the dirty work had been done.

But to obtain such a surrender it would be necessary for the strongest possible secret pressure to be brought on Poland by London, Paris, and, as it seems is already being prepared, by the Vatican, on Rome's instructions, as decided by Ciano and Ribbentrop at Salzburg. However, the success or failure of such pressure depends not only on the attitude adopted by the democrats in western Europe and the USA but on the internal situation in Poland. Let us briefly examine this position. There can be no doubt that a majority of the Polish people, like the Czechoslovak people last year, are determined to resist with all their power any Nazi attack on their independence and their country—Nazi aggression against Danzig would be just this. Especially among the peasantry and among the army is this feeling strong, not to mention the industrial workers. This is why in government circles Marshal Smigly-Rydz and the minister of agriculture head the resistance against those elements such as the minister of the interior who tend toward capitulationism and others like Beck who are, it seems, only waiting to see which side comes out uppermost. At the moment the resisters are uppermost; therefore, such wavering elements are at least theoretically for resistance.

POLAND'S MILITARY POSITION

But Poland's position is not by any means an easy one. The nuclear army of 260,000 men is exceedingly well trained and equipped while 300,000 annual conscripts in training are as good as those anywhere outside the USSR. But the material reserves are inadequate both quantitatively and qualitatively. Poland asked the British to provide the means by which she could remedy this deficiency without delay, but did not overcome the resistance of the City (London's Wall Street). There is no danger in revealing—because Berlin knows the situation only too well—that of twelve hundred planes many are of none too high a quality. There is a lack of adequate reserves of rifles, and on the score of machine gun equipment Poland is still below the desired level of modern equipment. These lacks, for an army whose whole strategy is defensive, are serious. Although the Polish cavalry is second only to the Red cavalry, this in no way makes up for the deficiency.

For the successful defense of Polish territory, therefore, the active assistance of the USSR is essential. Unfortunately, however, the sabotage by Britain of the Moscow negotiations has enabled certain reactionary chauvinist elements to make themselves heard, declaring on one hand that Poland has territorial claims against Germany and, on the other, that never must the assistance of the Red Army be accepted—an attitude which plainly is playing into Hitler's hands. Needless to say, it is just these elements, like certain reactionary Czech agrarians last September, who would be the first to advocate compromise with the Nazis should it come to that. At the moment these people are not having this their own way. The decision to divide up the big estates on the frontier among the poor peasants is significant and shows that sincere patriots are doing everything they believe possible to strengthen the spirit and morale of the nation. Whether their efforts will be successful or not, however, depends in the long run on the sincere patriots and democrats of the Western powers.

There can be no doubt that unless the political and military negotiations with the USSR are concluded immediately Hitler will strike. Perhaps not at once directly against Poland, perhaps as a preparatory measure against Hungary, thus encircling Poland and rendering valueless her treaty with Rumania.

RICHARD GOODMAN.

What's Up

ALL moves in Europe toward a second Munich for Poland received a great setback when the Soviet Union offered to negotiate a non-aggression pact with Germany. In effect, this put the next move up to the British and French governments: either they promptly sign the treaty with the Soviet Union and thus reassure Poland or else stand exposed before their peoples as welching on what they have been saying since March. The conference of the Oslo powers, including the Baltic countries, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and little Luxemburg, was overshadowed in the press by the news about the non-aggression pact. Actually, however, the pro-fascists were counting heavily on the Oslo conference producing some formula that would lead to Poland's capitulation. This is still possible, although the Soviet action has made the chances of success for this move unlikely. Meanwhile, Count Csaky, foreign minister of Hungary, was compelled by public opinion at home to reassure everyone that Hungary desired independence. Army circles, and sections of the peasants, are traditionally friendly to Poland. They don't want Hitler to use their country as a jumping-off place against Poland, which would eventually subjugate themselves.

The American press professed great shock at the Reich-Soviet non-aggression talks. Comments attempted to make it appear that the Soviet Union and Germany were uniting against the Western democracies, that the Soviet Union was abandoning Poland. Elsewhere in this issue, NEW MASSES presents a contrast between the Soviet and fascist systems which answers all arguments about identities between completely opposite systems. In our editorial on page 18 the meaning of the Soviet-Reich pact is reviewed in the context of other developments in Europe.

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William Gropper

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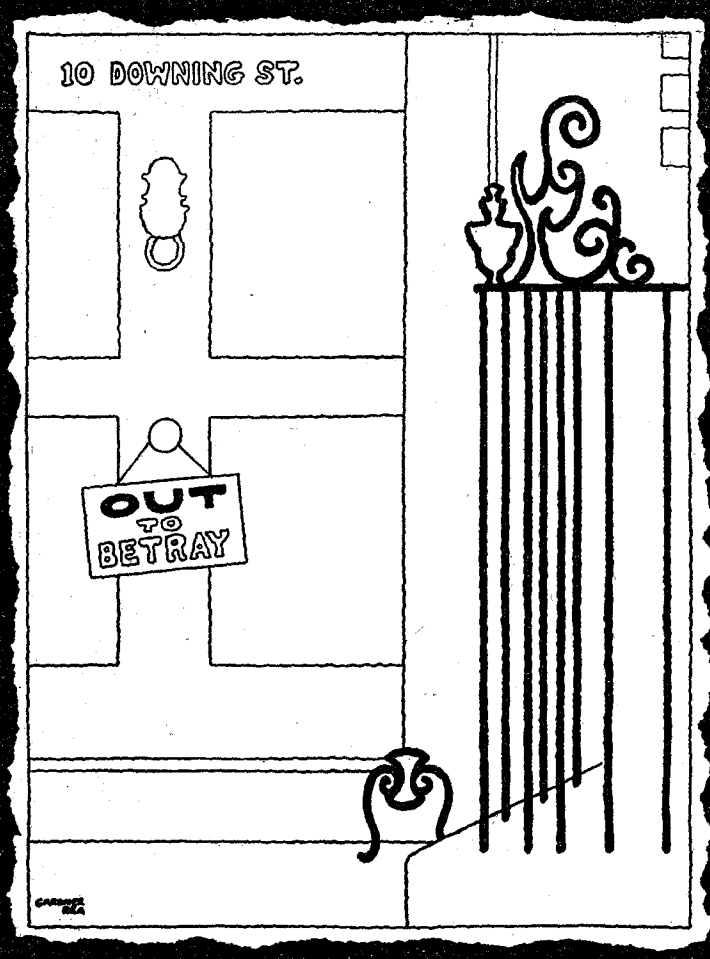

~~Czechoslovakia~~ Poland ?

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Corliss Lamont

Explains "why members of the upper class go left." The belief in democracy and the case for socialism. Security, comfort, and wealth.

"How does it happen, Mr. Lamont, that a person with your background is a radical?" I have been asked this question an infinite number of times during the past few years by all kinds of people, from incredulous workers coming up to speak with me after a lecture in some Midwestern city to perplexed plutocrats taking me aside for a confidential chat after a formal Manhattan dinner.

Needless to say, I have never been able, in a brief conversation, to give a very satisfactory reply. But I have always realized it was a legitimate and important question. And I want to try to answer it simply and honestly.

Yes, I am a radical, an independent radical, belonging to no political party and doing my own thinking. I am on the side of labor. I sympathize in general with the achievements of the Soviet Union. I am against fascism. I want to see a life of abundance for all of the people. And I believe socialism can do the job both in America and the world at large.

At the same time there can be no doubt that in origin I come from America's so-called upper class. I mean "upper" only in an economic sense: that top 1 percent of American individuals and families whose incomes are $10,000 a year or more. From early childhood I have enjoyed certain undeniable advantages that wealth is able to assure. Two members of my immediate family are partners in the banking firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. And, since coming of age, I myself have possessed considerably more than average economic security.

THE BELIEF IN DEMOCRACY

Why are persons with backgrounds similar to mine today joining the ranks of the radicals? Though I can speak only for myself, I believe I can throw light on this matter by giving an account of my own transition to a socialist point of view. And perhaps I can partly clear up what seems to be a source of endless amazement and alarm to so many of our fellow citizens. They cannot understand how anyone who is normal, "Nordic," and economically privileged can become a sincere supporter of radicalism in economics and politics.

I hold that the case for socialism rests primarily on the belief in democracy and the appeal to reason. By democracy I mean the fair and equal opportunity of all persons, regardless of race or nationality, religion or occupation, to share in the good things, both material and cultural, of this life; and to genuinely participate in the economic and political decisions affecting their mode of existence. The emotional drive behind the democratic ideal is best described as a warm feeling of well-wishing and friendliness toward all humanity.

Clearly enough, it requires no great intelligence to perceive that the capitalist system, no matter what reforms are enacted, cannot provide the masses of the people with the prerequisites of a secure and happy life and of democracy in the broad sense. Only socialism gets to the roots of things and promises permanent cures. The socialist solution, which should appeal to the reason of all those who are both tough-minded and tender-hearted, is that only nationwide economic planning can put an end to the fundamental economic troubles of mankind.

SOCIALIST PLANNING

Such planning will be democratically carried out, and entails the public ownership and operation of the main means of production and distribution. It will coordinate the whole financial, industrial, and agricultural life of a country, including prices, wages, and hours of work, and will make certain that the population always possesses sufficient purchasing power to buy back the goods which it produces. Socialist planning within each nation and then between each nation will at the same time eliminate the terrific economic problems and pressures that almost inevitably lead to international war.

The planning which socialism proposes can be counted on to result in continuous prosperity and in a constantly rising standard of living. I confess that I like to live well and that I want my wife and three children to live well. I believe in the wholehearted affirmation and enjoyment of life. And I am convinced that if we got rid of the tremendous wastes and inefficiencies of the present system, *everyone* could live well. Our productive capacity here in the United States is so very great that socialist planning, releasing to the full the potentialities of our economic plant, could in fairly short order guarantee, on the basis of a seven-hour day and a five-day week, to every American family an annual return of goods and services equivalent in value to at least $5,000. That is what socialism could do in the first few years; and later it could do much better. That is why—and let the fact never be forgotten—*socialism means security, comfort, wealth.*

For this reason, the idea of a socialist society ought, as a matter of sheer self-interest, to attract profoundly not just the more poorly paid workers and farmers, but the whole of the middle class and many members of the upper class as well. Our modern depressions raise pure and simple havoc among the middle class, whether they gain their livelihoods in industry or agriculture or the professions. And capitalism is so capricious, so utterly undependable, that even the wealthy cannot be too sure of their future and that of their children. The stockmarket reaches the heights one day and sinks to the depths the next; businesses, both large and small, quickly go from boom to bankruptcy; great fortunes rise and fall; whole nations suddenly verge on economic collapse. Who is really secure?

SOCIALISM A WAY OF LIFE

Turning to still broader perspectives, I think it is of the highest importance to note that socialism is not concerned simply with economics and material things. The socialist cultural synthesis does not have merely a theory of economics and politics; it has a theory of history and art and science; it has a theory of international and interracial relations; it has an attitude towards the universe. In other words, it offers the individual an inclusive and rounded philosophy of life and one which provides him with a high and worthwhile loyalty during his career on this earth. In socialism I and other non-proletarian radicals find an opportunity to fulfill ourselves.

We feel, too, that we are associating ourselves with the most vital thing in the world today, that we are becoming part of a great, ongoing, and probably invincible tide in the affairs of men, that we are casting our lot with the future. All during the nineteenth century American capitalism presented many challenging and exciting tasks. There was the opening up of the West, the building of a vast transportation system, the discovery and exploitation of our natural resources, the mechanization of industry and agriculture, the development of mass production and big corporate enterprise, the transformation of our country into a definite world power. But now it appears evident that capitalism has seen its palmiest days and that stirring opportunities within its framework are becoming increasingly scarce. The battle for socialism—and for a long time yet in the United States it will be the uphill fight of a minority—seems to me much the most exciting and at the same time intelligent movement in which one can participate today.

AMERICAN IDEALS AT STAKE

The general aims of socialism which I have been reviewing, far from being alien to the spirit of America, are wholly in accord with our traditions. What, indeed, could be *more* American than the ideal of complete democracy, of social justice, of economic security, of cultural opportunity, of world peace,

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and of the right of all men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?" I am a radical precisely because such outstanding American ideals are daily stamped in the mire by capitalism, particularly now in its fascist form; and because they can be rescued and fulfilled only through the establishment of socialism. These ideals, I may add, are sincerely shared by most Americans, including many honest conservatives and members of the upper class who would not dream of classifying themselves as radicals.

Let me illustrate from personal experience the meaning of this last statement. Two or three years ago a Red-baiter by the name of Francis Ralston Welsh wrote an agitated piece about me and my parents called "Sowing the Wind and Reaping the Whirlwind." He pointed out that my mother was on the boards of such terrible "Communist" organizations as the Foreign Policy Association and the New School for Social Research, and that my father aided and abetted her subversive activities and was guilty of some rather liberal doings himself. "And so the wind was sown," the author said. Then came the inevitable "whirlwind," he concluded, and in no other form than my own humble self!

Now in spite of the absurdities of Mr. Welsh, he has a real point. For much of my radicalism is unquestionably due to my determination to see actualized certain of the ideals which were taught me in my home—the goal of international peace and understanding, for instance. And of course if my position is sound on the ways and means of achieving peace and other recognized human values, then all idealistic capitalists ought seriously to contemplate throwing their energies into the struggle for socialism. I am convinced that a considerable number of such members of the upper class would be individually happier in a cooperative society where their social sensitivities would not be constantly outraged and where they would cease to lead lives which so often today are psychologically oppressed, spiritually frustrated, and weighed down by the very bulk of material possessions.

But those from the upper class who espouse socialism are relatively few and far between. The capitalists' economic stake in the present order—or, rather, *dis*order—makes this understandable. But when upper class individuals do come over to the left, they usually turn out to be as dependable as anyone else. Like other types in the radical movement, they may honestly change their convictions or lose their nerve, grow conservative with age or become tired of it all. But they can rarely be bought off, because they already have a sufficient measure of economic security. And they are not likely to be corrupted by the lure of social prestige, because they had plenty of that commodity to begin with. There is little danger of their enacting the revolting spectacle of a Ramsay MacDonald betraying British Socialism by gradually succumbing to the refined and aristocratic atmosphere of afternoon tea with the nobility.

We well-to-do radicals, however, have our own peculiar problems. We must learn what particular job will enable us to function most effectively in the movement, how to handle the endless appeals for money, how to make new and staunch friends on the left who will give us understanding and moral support, and how to adjust our personal lives in a way that is appropriate to the beliefs we hold.

MORE THAN CHARITY NEEDED

Upper class conservatives are prone to call us insincere because we do not at once reduce our standard of living to that of the most poverty-stricken group in the United States. I well remember an encounter some years ago with that picturesque blusterer, ex-Vice President, ex-banker, and ex-general, Charles G. Dawes, who leapt up from an excellent Sunday dinner and paced around the table chewing angrily on his pipe, charging that I had no right to believe in socialism until I gave away my last penny. I reminded him it was not Lenin but Jesus who had advised giving away all one's goods to feed the poor. The Christian ex-general, a multi-millionaire at the time, did not respond to this observation.

The point is that there are more significant things to do on behalf of socialism than to make dramatic, half-baked gestures such as flinging away all one's money or moving to some city slum. It is well for a few friends of the radical movement to remain financially solvent. And it may be useful, too, for non-proletarian radicals to keep on working within the capitalist class where they were brought up and to try to win over more persons from it or at least to arouse them against fascism. It is customary to jeer at what are called "Parlor Pinks"; but as a matter of fact very good work can be done for socialism in parlors both modest and magnificent.

Finally, radicals like myself do not pretend to be either angels or martyrs; it is our unfriendly critics who concoct that myth and then accuse us of being hypocrites because we do not live up to it. Neither are we killjoys who want to take all the fun out of life, gloomy fanatics who have no sense of humor, nor slaves to work who think that a cause can best be served by physical or nervous wrecks. The unexciting truth is, then, that we radicals from the plutocracy are ordinary persons who like ordinary pleasures and recreations, who try to do a good day's work and who wish to provide our children with a decent environment in which to grow up. It would be folly for us, as for anyone else in this capitalist country, to attempt to act *now* in all respects as if full-fledged socialism existed in America.

On the left with approval, on the right with disapproval, we are sometimes called "traitors to our class." But I confess that I do not care for this negative formulation and find it very inadequate; I prefer to say that in trying to be loyal to mankind as a whole we are compelled to oppose the economic interests of the capitalist class. At the same time we back the working class because it possesses the potentiality of creating a new and better form of society and because the labor movement everywhere is in the interests of the overwhelming majority.

Every revolutionary period in history has been marked by members of the ruling classes, primarily for moral and intellectual reasons rather than from economic need, sympathizing with and taking part in the movements of the underprivileged. Thus we upper class radicals of the present day feel that we are carrying on a long and honorable tradition. While ancestor worship is not a very fruitful thing, a number of us can if necessary summon up the shades of our forbears to bestow a blessing on us; I myself had ancestors who sailed across the Atlantic in the good ship *Mayflower* and who fought in the American Revolution. We are, then, by no means breaking entirely with the past; we are selecting out of that past what seems to us the highest course of conduct and are trying to follow it through.

REALISTIC RADICALS

Realistic radicals, however, do not nourish the illusion that a socialist society will create a utopia where all human problems are automatically solved. Nor can we get socialism for nothing; mankind cannot take the greatest step forward in history without paying for it. Even where socialism comes peacefully, as I trust it will in America, a lot of people, especially among the capitalists, are not going to like it one bit. And certain traditional values, closely interwoven with the rise and rule of capitalism, are bound to perish. I am sorry that these things have to be; but the universe decreed long ago that evolution, however healthy and desirable, must be a somewhat painful process. As long as mankind continues to grow, it must endure growing pains.

It is my thesis that if growth is to go on, it must be in the direction of socialism. This form of civilization actually holds sway over one-sixth of the earth, the Soviet Union, where socialist theories have for the first time been receiving a large-scale test, going through a terrific pragmatic ordeal. There a planned economy has already actually been functioning for a number of years and, as I saw for myself on my two visits to the country in 1932 and 1938, has achieved extraordinary success.

Is it we radicals who are unrealistic and sentimental, throwing our lives away on behalf of an impossible Utopia? Or is it not rather the poor capitalists, those blind, pathetic idealists who will go down nobly with their lost cause singing one last hymn to rugged individualism? For socialism marches forward—as an economic program, as a political battle-cry, as a cultural goal, as an international commonwealth, as a compelling philosophy, as a total way of life that may well in this era become *the* way of life for by far the greater part of mankind.

CORLISS LAMONT.

This article is included in a forthcoming book by Corliss Lamont entitled "You Might Like Socialism: A Way of Life for Modern Man," to be published in September by Modern Age Books, Inc.

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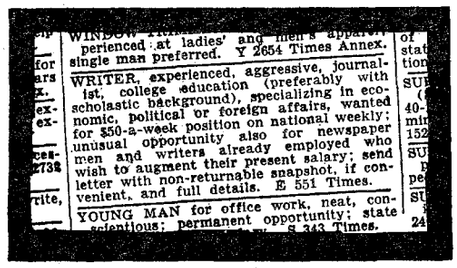
Coughlin Offered Me a Job

Report of an interview following an ad in the New York "Times." The author, a New Masses reader, is an employed newspaperman.



WINDOW ... ladies' and men's apparel; experienced ... preferred. Y 2654 Times Annex.

WRITER, experienced, aggressive, journalist, college education (preferably with scholastic background), specializing in economic, political or foreign affairs, wanted for $50-a-week position on national weekly; unusual opportunity also for newspaper men and writers already employed who wish to augment their present salary; send letter with non-returnable snapshot, if convenient, and full details. E 551 Times.

YOUNG MAN for office work, neat, conscientious; permanent opportunity; state ... E 343 Times.

ON SUNDAY, August 13, a tall, shambling young man with a shock of blond hair and close-set, brown eyes arrived in New York. He rented, for a three day stay, a $15 a day room at the Waldorf-Astoria, registering as Humphrey Ireland of Royal Oak, Mich. On the same day the above notice appeared in the help-wanted column of the New York *Times*.

The advertisement said nothing about race, but wise ad-readers know that a request for a snapshot is code for "No Jews need apply."

About 250 answers were mailed to E 551; the *Times* passed them on to the gangling young man at the Waldorf. On Monday he made telephone calls which resulted in appointments for exactly ten of the applicants to call at the hotel, Room 901, on Tuesday. All the telephone conversations followed the same pattern. Ireland stated that he represented a "Western news magazine" and asked three questions:

"What inside sources of information do you have, such as private newspaper and magazine morgues and contacts with government officials?"

"What are your politics?"

"Are you willing to work for a publication with which you are not in political agreement?"

The last question was unprecedented. Few newsmen are optimistic enough to demand that a prospective employer see eye to eye with them politically.

Ireland interviewed separately each of the ten winnowed out by these questions. Wearing only a shirt and trousers, his hair uncombed, he stalked about the luxurious, untidy room as he talked to them. He needed, he said, six writers to cover New York, preferably men already employed on newspapers or news magazines who desired to earn extra money. What was wanted, he explained, was not straight news coverage, but "inside dope" and "angles" suited to the special nature of his publication. "We aren't interested in news," he drawled, pacing up and down the big room. "What we want is propaganda."

"What we are," he went on, picking his words carefully, "is a nationalist magazine—what you call fascist here in New York. But in other parts of the country they don't call it fascist, they call it nationalist. Do you think you can work for a magazine like that?"

Without waiting for a reply he added, growing more excited as he talked: "Let me warn you! If you decide to work for us, keep it quiet. Because if it gets known you might never find work on another newspaper. People hate us in New York. We can't even get on the newsstands. And they say they have freedom of the press——"

Peering at each listener with a sly grin, he made his revelation: "Maybe you've guessed what the magazine is? It's Father Coughlin's *Social Justice*."

One man interviewed objected that he was not a Catholic. "Neither am I," Ireland replied easily. The only man among the ten who was an Irish Catholic, he rejected. Others protested that they could not subscribe to the absurdities printed in *Social Justice*. "I don't care what your own politics are," Ireland said, "as long as you can write our kind of stuff—stuff that will stir people up."

Laying his cards on the table, he assumed a jovial, cynical attitude, conceding that any reputable newspaperman might understandably hesitate to associate himself openly with the fascist sheet. He promised that the names of those hired would be kept secret and that they need have no contact with the local Coughlinite strong-arm organizations—Christian Front and Christian Mobilizers. Each of the men who wanted to try for the job, he instructed, was to write a sample article and submit it directly to the Shrine of the Little Flower at Royal Oak, so that Coughlin himself might choose the six most expert with the poison pen.

In the past, Ireland divulged, Coughlin's well financed publication (claiming a circulation of 250,000) has culled its news items—with wholesale distortions—from daily newspapers mailed to Royal Oak. The content has been long on inflammatory phrases and short on facts, even pseudo-facts. It has also been close to illiteracy. Now the silky-voiced father is planning a drive for new circulation. His first step was to send Ireland to New York, well equipped with cash, in an effort to give *Social Justice* an editorial shot in the arm.

The emissary outlined the magazine's political principles carefully. On foreign affairs, he stated, *Social Justice* is isolationist—"only we call it nationalist"—on national affairs, anti-New Deal; regionally, it is anti-New York. "New York's not part of the United States," he asserted, smiling at his own words. "It's a foreign country."

The heart of the Coughlin editorial policy, Ireland took pains to convey, is anti-Semitism. "We want to get the international bankers—the international *Jewish* bankers," he repeated several times in each interview, stressing the word "Jewish" heavily. Whenever he referred to Jews he grinned wryly and allowed a facetious note to creep into his voice, implying that neither he nor his listener agreed with such an absurdity as anti-Semitism. The tacit understanding throughout was that this was strictly a cash deal—the newsman was being offered a little more money than usual to sacrifice whatever vestiges of integrity he might have preserved in the brass check business.

The job, as Ireland described it, was an easy one. One story weekly giving hell to the Jews for about four hundred words, plus two shorter pieces—a total of well under one thousand words. Little enough for $50.

Besides the "Jewish bankers" and the "Jewish atheistic Communists," it developed, he also wanted to "get" the "Jewish congressmen," the "Jewish trade union leaders," and the "Jewish college professors." From the emphasis placed on the word, his listeners were given less to understand that he wanted the attacks confined to Jews, than that whatever was attacked—from the farm program to the World's Fair—should be characterized as "Jewish." The technique, he indicated, might best be acquired by reading back numbers of *Social Justice*.

As each applicant prepared to leave, Ireland repeated his admonition to secrecy. "Plenty of people don't like us," he warned. "You might get your jaw broken if they knew you worked for us." At the door he made one last impressive effort to drill into each man the exact nature of the material wanted.

"We appeal to the lowest type of human being," he said earnestly. "When you write for us, don't write as if you were writing for Hitler. Don't write as if you were writing for Mussolini. Write as if you were writing for Franco. 'Catholic' and fascist—that's the combination."

THOMAS WHARTON.

Bridges to Alaska

UP IN Bristol Bay, Alaska, word flashed by radio of the Harry Bridges deportation case. Somebody called a meeting—and everybody attended, including AFL men, CIO and independent unionists, and Alaska Indians.

This was the word brought back by the men of the Alaska Packer ship *Etolin*, on arrival here at the conclusion of the salmon fishing season.

Everybody at the meeting in the land of the midnight sun, they said, joined in a vote of confidence for Bridges and signed a telegram to Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins to that effect.

One speaker at the meeting, after relating Alaskan economic difficulties, said: "If they're going to deport Bridges from the States, why don't they send him to Alaska? We need him."

On the voyage home the men, representing several different unions, held a deck meeting and pledged $1 per man to the Bridges defense fund.

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Bill Bioff and the IATSE's

Why tough Willie Bioff resigned. The second of Ella W inter's two articles on Hollywood.

Hollywood.

WILLIAM BIOFF had been quite intimately connected with Chicago "trade union" tactics. In that town he had been an associate of such underworld characters as Johnny Roselli, Lawrence Mangana, Jack Zuta. He had been implicated in three murders of union organizers. On Feb. 4, 1935, Thomas Malloy, business agent of the Chicago motion picture projectionists—the strongest unit in the country—was shot and killed while riding in his auto (the shots coming, in best Chicago style, from a speeding black sedan). Five members of the union were arrested; they were all freed and George Browne, president of the International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees, took over Malloy's job. These five men were appointed as Browne's bodyguard; one of them was Bioff.

Clyde Osterberg was murdered. Bioff was arrested. Osterberg was attempting to organize an independent union of theatrical employees. That was June 12, 1935. On July 19, Louie Altierie, organizer of theater janitors, met a bullet, and again Bioff was questioned; and again released. Chicago papers refer openly to Bioff as "gangster," "hoodlum," and "public enemy." The Chicago *Tribune* of Nov. 11, 1932, in connection with the Touhy kidnapping, referred to an offer "to surrender William Bioff, another Twenty-seventh Ward hoodlum." In the *Times* of Feb. 4, 1935, he was spoken of as a "gunman." There are police discharge slips in Chicago for ten different arrests, for pimping, panhandling, etc. Each time a different trade, address, and date of birth are given. On Feb. 23, 1922, Bioff rated a conviction. As No. 318907 he spent six months in the House of Correction and paid a fine of $300.

In January 1937 an assessment of 2 percent of annual earnings was suddenly levied on all members of IATSE. The resolution whereby it was levied gives the entire fund —a yearly income of $840,000—to the exclusive care of George Browne to disperse as he may see fit. No accounting has ever been made to the members for this fund. If a member refused to pay the assessment he lost his job.

THE SACRAMENTO HEARING

A legislative hearing in Sacramento in 1937 inquired into union funds, and some interesting facts came to light. Four bank accounts were carried by the local. One of these was the revolving fund, of which no records were kept, which was used as a convenience fund to enable the secretary-treasurer to manipulate all cash passing through his hands. The membership did not know what happened to this money. Payments by members, whether dues, loans, or mutual benefits, were generally deposited in this account, after which they lost their identity. About $40,000 disappeared in this way. One sum of $6,150 was recorded as going to the "Rialto Theater case." This appears rather a large amount to unionize one house. Another entry of $22,000 figured as a "special assessment"; of this also there was no record. The best guess is that some of this sum, authorized in January 1932, was used for the famous Stench Bomb Campaign.

Mr. M. J. Sands, the secretary-treasurer of Local 150, had the habit of making out loan cards to fictitious names, but the corresponding check for that amount to a real member. Then nothing would be paid on that loan for a couple of years. Mr. Sands had other interesting habits. He paid himself twice in one week from two different funds; and refused to show his minutes to any auditors.

The official audit of the projectionists' locals showed that a total of $300,000 had been spent in four years in Los Angeles alone.

What was the Stench Bomb Campaign? It took place over a period when the movie theater projectionists were to be organized. Suddenly in the course of a movie a stink bomb would go off and the patrons would rush out of the theater. The theater owner would be the loser. Ninety-three theaters were bombed in this way, each bombing costing from $25 to $50. In Los Angeles alone thirty-three theaters were bombed in two years. Two men were arrested, and that led to developments in the Legislative Assembly hearings which have just been aired in the Philbrick report on legislative corruption which Governor Olson recently made public. But that is another story.

In the spring of 1937 there was a strike of the Federation of Motion Picture Crafts. The painters could not get recognition under the Basic Agreement; they had withdrawn in 1931 and the makeup men and scenic artists could not get recognition without them. Uncertainty of work, unemployment and low earnings, as well as the favoritism and racketeering had made the men very discontented. On Nov. 12, 1937, grips, operators, and props alone had 2,500 men unemployed. The leaders were ruthless about dues and the special assessment, using them as a blackjack and blacklist; one man, receiving compensation for a studio injury, was told to pay his 2 percent from his disability compensation.

THE OPEN DOOR POLICY

The course of this strike was stormy. The strikers were ordered publicly to retract charges they had made that the IA was a company union; Mr. Browne told the producers there was to be no settlement unless dictated by him. The IA took to replacing strikers by IA members; threatened producers when a mild suggestion was made by Joseph M. Schenck, president of 20th Century-Fox, that the "door was open for negotiation." Mr. Browne declared: "If Schenck thinks the door is open and if Schenck negotiates on behalf of the producers with the FMPC painters' group, then his studio will be one of the first to be closed." "The painters must come to the IATSE and to no one else," said Mr. Browne. "This is a strictly union fight. If the producers keep butting in we shall be forced to cancel the showing of their pictures."

THERE WERE SOUP KITCHENS

Grand National, one of the larger independent producers, signed a closed shop agreement with the FMPC. The Studio Utility Employees sent its members back to work with a 15 percent increase an hour. The costumers signed a separate four-year agreement —and were expelled from the FMPC for doing it. The culinary workers and machinists abandoned the strike; but still the majority held out. It is hard to imagine soup kitchens for workers in Hollywood, but there were. Browne threatened that if the producers negotiated, he could call out eighty thousand union technicians and projectors.

After six weeks the strike ended with substantial gains. The painters won recognition.

The international officers were furious. Browne threatened to refuse to complete negotiations unless the FMPC got out of the picture. Pat Casey, the producers' representative, agreed with Browne. FMPC was ordered to dissolve, meetings were prohibited for ninety days. Fifteen hundred strikebreakers given cards in the IA during the strike were kept on. Thugs and gangsters hired to work in the studios during the strike were also kept on, till there were complaints of their behavior.

And now, in September of last year, broke the story that has been a major Hollywood gossip item for months, that has had the producers jittery, and that has led finally to the firm organization of the local unions with local autonomy. A complaint was filed with the Los Angeles National Labor Relations Board charging that a $100,000 bribe was paid to Bioff by Joseph M. Schenck for bringing twelve thousand members into the IATSE. All Los Angeles papers headlined the story: "IATSE CALLED COMPANY UNION" "FILM UNION SELLOUT CHARGED" "FIREWORKS FLARE ON STUDIO FRONT OVER BRIBE STORY" "CLAIM IATSE CHIEFS SOLD OUT UNION" "FILMLAND STIRRED BY LABOR PAYOFF CHARGE"—while *Daily Variety*, a trade paper, headlined its story "IA GRANTS LOCALS AUTONOMY!"

The evidence against Bioff piled up: he had been given a house by one studio; its furniture was listed as an item in the books of another; he had stock in 20th Century-Fox and in Mr. Schenck's racing stable. The $100,000 had been paid in a check by Laurence Stebbins, a small real-estate agent who

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happened to be Mr. Schenck's nephew; Bioff kept it for four days in a safety deposit box and then withdrew it in cash.

Very shortly after this Bioff resigned.

But Mr. Browne did not resign. The time came for the charges to be heard before the NLRB. A special examiner was brought out from Washington. A hurried conference took place between the newly appointed international representative, Mr. Harold V. Smith, many lawyers, and the heads of the local groups. Producers wanted it fixed, settled, without a hearing. Delays were granted. And then, when the time had expired and the hearings were at last to come up, all of a sudden there was a quick descent on Hollywood of—more Chicago "personalities."

The news crackled with their doings. One murky dawn—at 3 a.m.—these international officials took over the locals' offices; they impounded books and funds; they stationed police with tear gas bombs at the doors. They asked for and got injunctions; they made statements to the press about "troublemakers" in the locals. A personable young woman secretary, Martha Stewart, who had charge of a "little black book" that told about some of the illegal expenditure of the illegally assessed 2 percent, disappeared. There were charges of "murder." But Miss Stewart turned up again, bright, smiling, and well dressed, on a train from Pensacola, Fla.

The locals countered by mass meetings, in which the rank and file endorsed local autonomy and voted for inquiries into the expenditures of their funds. International officials turned up at these meetings and were told by police, standing by with tear gas, to leave, for their own protection. (They left.) The locals asked for injunctions against the international officials' injunctions, and were granted them.

WHERE'S THE MILLION?

A grand jury investigation was threatened, to find out what became of that million dollars. Alas, after a two hours' discussion with certain studio officials the district attorney of Los Angeles, Buron Fitts, called off the investigation.

Then Jeff Kibre, leader of Local 37, was arrested—on "suspicion of criminal syndicalism." They found a copy of *Strictly from Hunger* by Sid Perelman, among his books! The arresting officer thought this proved Mr. Kibre's intentions. A libel and false arrest suit of $250,000 was slapped on the officer by his victim.

It looks as if the membership had all the cards. The last few months have been a process of education for the members of the IATSE. There's nothing like seeing politics in action. They have seen it. The internationals are losing ground rapidly. The members are the guardians of democracy in their union, as in the industry; and they must win it.

The IA took to the courts and to threatening the producers. The membership took to democratic organization of all studio workers who formerly came under IA jurisdiction. In this move the workers received help from the CIO and progressive AFL locals, notably the Motion Picture Painters.

An independent union known as the United Studio Technicians Guild was formed and the workers, disillusioned with the IA, flocked to the new banner. In less than a month of organization the USTG has won more than 50 percent of the six thousand members of the IA's biggest local, Local 37.

Browne tried to move quickly to force the producers to give him a closed shop agreement. J. W. Buzzell, secretary of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, obliged by issuing new charters to five locals of the IA.

But Browne's threats and Buzzell's splitting failed to gain the objective desired. For several days, during which the producers were negotiating with the IA, the new union told the people of Hollywood that it had a majority of the workers and had petitioned the Labor Board for an election.

On the day set for the signing of the agreement between the IA and the producers, a sound truck rode through Hollywood streets telling listeners to wire, telephone, and write to the producers' association asking them to suspend negotiations with the IA until the NLRB could determine which union represented the workers.

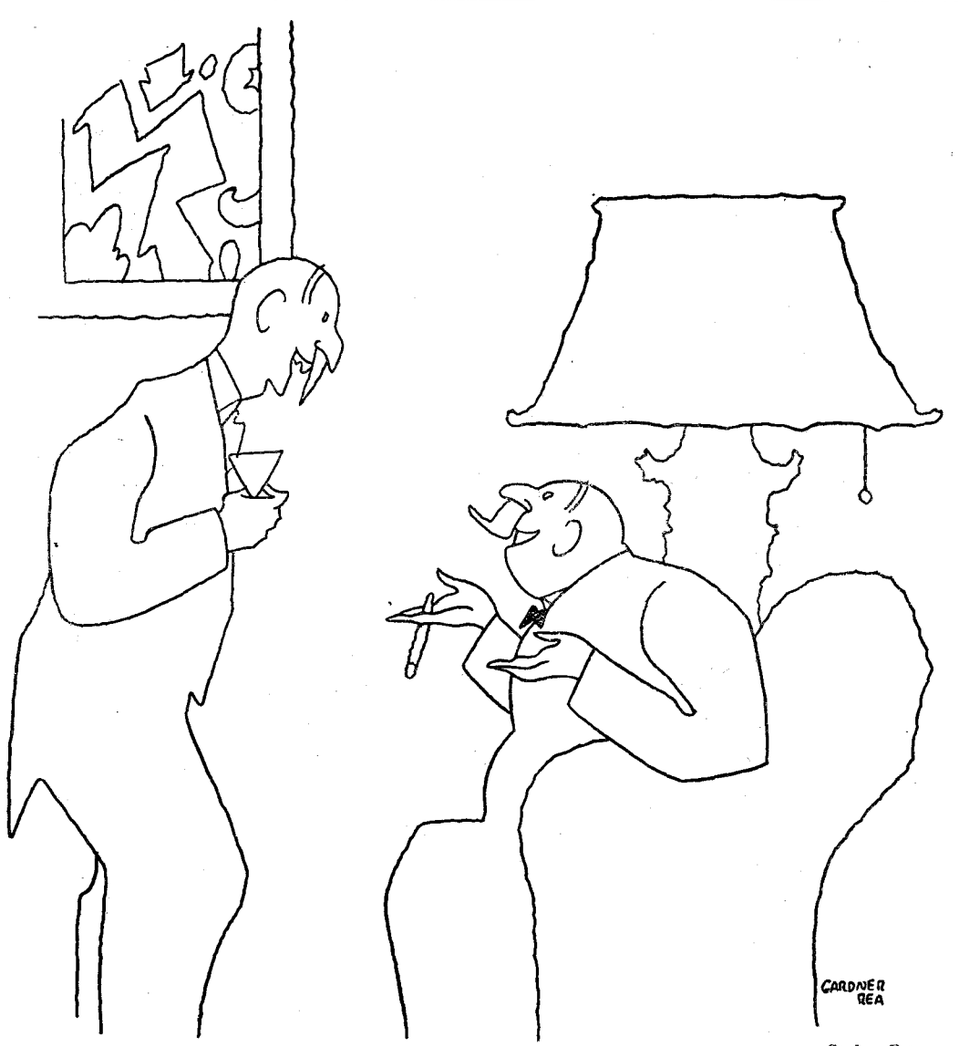
The tactic worked; Hollywood responded to the call and the producers broke off negotiations with Browne's representatives.

Meanwhile, Browne presented Whitehead and Sophie Tucker with the charter of the dual American Federation of Actors union which was recently expelled from the AAAA, the international which embraces the Screen Actors Guild, Actors Equity, Chorus Equity, the newly formed American Guild of Variety Artists, the Chorus Association, and others. [The IATSE-AAAA controversy is still shaking the industry. See editorial on page 19—ED.]

Things have been happening at too fast a pace to describe in detail here. But one thing is certain: the USTG will win recognition and, once established, will infuse new life into the existing unions.

The studio workers aren't taken in by Browne's blustering. In answer to the IA's threats the workers say, "If the IA is so damn powerful why couldn't it get us a living wage?"

ELLA WINTER.



Gardner Rea

MAJOR NERTZ OF THE FASCIST SHIRTS

"Just think of it! Good old Jack Garner in the White House, business untrammeled, the streets gay with apple-sellers . . ."

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Uncommon House of Commons

England's representatives and who they represent. The tory MP and his class background.

If you got up among the Conservative benches in the House of Commons and asked, "Is there a doctor in the House?" only nine honorable members would reply. In fact, only one dentist, two architects, less than a dozen solicitors are among the 415 members of the government majority. In Britain, there are more school masters than army officers. But the latter, as a group, have seventy-nine representatives on the Conservative benches; the former only four.

"No taxation without representation" was the slogan under which a valuable group of British subjects broke away from the empire over 150 years ago. It would still make a good slogan in Britain today. The whole of the British middle classes, including lawyers, doctors, university staffs, and civil servants have the same representation in the governing body of the British people today as the insurance companies. The same goes for workers in the shops, mines, and railways, the technical experts, salesmen, and office workers who comprise 90 percent of the occupied British population. Not one of them sits on the Conservative side of the House of Commons.

On the other hand, 181 Conservatives are directors of British companies. All together, they hold 775 directorships. Representative of the most powerful business groups, they have themselves gone into a special kind of business: that is, operating the mechanism of the British government.

Facts such as these are making Britishers think this summer. Men and women in England are asking: Who represents us in Parliament? Where did he get his education? How does he make his living? How many times does he speak and vote in the House? How does he feel about taxation of the armament firms? What does he think of Hitler?

A slim, 263-page book in a simple red binding started it all. It's called *Tory MP,* written by a man named Simon Haxey, and published last month by the Left Book Club of Great Britain. Of three hundred members of the Conservative majority, 29 percent come of fathers in industry, banking, and commerce. The daddies of 20 percent more were either landowners or just coupon-clippers. Sixteen percent had paters in the Armed Forces and 15 percent were scions of professional politicians. That means that eight out of every ten get a fairly good start in life.

Naturally, the next step was Eton or Harrow, of which fully 125 members are alumni. Old Lord Baldwin expressed his loyalties in this regard rather well. "When the call came to me to form a government," he once declared, "one of my first thoughts was that it should be a government of which Harrow ought not be ashamed."

Out of school, the decent thing for a tory MP is to inherit a fortune. For this, it is not necessary that father die, but that is what frequently happens. In the cases of forty-three MP's who died between 1931 and 1938, the fortunes of thirty-three have been traced. Twelve of these left between half a million and five million dollars. The average sum comes to about a million, or £218,156, a large sum in any language, especially in Great Britain. More than money, however, the heir may inherit a seat in Parliament, as in the case of Sir Robert Bird, who succeeded his father as the chairman of a well known custard firm and as the Conservative member for West Wolverhampton.

MORE THAN CUSTARD

Usually, most Conservatives have their fingers in more than custard. Take the railway companies, closely linked with the banks and insurance companies, employing over 600,000 workmen, the largest employers in Great Britain. None of these workers sits in the House of Commons. But of the seventy-three directors of railway firms, at least nine sit in Parliament. The favorite fields for tory MP's are the iron, steel, and coal companies with their subsidiaries in aircraft and munitions, in which at least fifty-one Conservative members hold directorships. A runnerup is insurance, in which forty-three members hold directorships, thus controlling the destinies of the proverbial widows and orphans. Banking, communications, shipping, brewing, and chemicals are represented by well over a hundred members. Just to keep a check on public opinion, seventeen Conservative members direct leading newspapers.

There are five great banks in Great Britain: the Bank of England, Barclays, Lloyds, Midlands, the National Provincial, and Westminster. Among themselves they have a capital of £205,000,000, and current deposits of ten times as much, a good share of the total capital of the community. Back in 1921, there was some disagreement between the government and the banks. The *Financial Times* inquired of a certain minister at the time: "Does he, and his colleagues, realize that half a dozen men at the top of the five big banks could upset the whole fabric of government by refraining from renewing Treasury bills?" Today, this query retains its force. Four MP's are directors of the five big banks; at least a dozen more are directors in the smaller banks. Various leading Conservatives such as Viscount Runciman, Viscount Horne, the late Lord Stanley, and Sir John Anderson invariably go back and forth from their jobs as bank directors to leading posts in the government.

Not through MP's alone is the power of British industry and wealth represented in Parliament. Undersecretaries and ministers are intimately tied to business interests. Most prominent of these in recent months was Mr. R. H. Hudson, undersecretary for overseas trade, and author of the five billion dollar scheme for rehabilitating Nazi economy. He is the son of R. W. Hudson, whose soap firm is part of Lever Bros. & Unilever, Ltd.

In 1914, the late Philip Snowden, then a Labor leader, said it would be impossible to throw a stone among the Conservative benches without hitting a director or shareholder of one of the munitions firms. Today at least twenty-three tory MP's hold directorships in armament works. The last three Conservative prime ministers, Bonar Law, Baldwin, and Chamberlain, all come from families traditionally connected with munitions manufacture. Sir John Anderson was on the board of Vickers until his elevation to the Cabinet last fall placed him in charge of National Service and Air-Raid Precautions. L. S. Amery is on the board of Cammell Laird. Sir Eugene Ramsden and Sir Patrick Hannon are both directors of the Birmingham Small Arms firm, of which Neville Chamberlain was a director from 1919 to 1922.

Last December, the prime minister appointed a board of six gentlemen to examine "delays, defects, and difficulties in supply or production under the rearmament program." They were chosen, said Mr. Chamberlain, because "none of them were particularly connected with armaments firms." The truth is that, between them, these six gentlemen held twenty-six directorships, including textiles, rubber, chemicals, and telegraph. One of them, Sir Geoffrey Clarke, is chairman of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. All of them, through subsidiary companies in which they have interests, supply materials to the defense industries.

More than that, at least two of these men —D'Arcy Cooper and Sir Geoffrey Clarke —are members of the Anglo-German Fellowship. Two of the companies represented on the committee are corporate members of the Anglo-German Fellowship.

DEVOTED TO APPEASEMENT

This brings us to the ironic contradiction. For the Anglo-German Fellowship is the society of British banking and business men dedicated to friendship and appeasement of Nazi Germany. The marquis of Londonderry is one of its major figures. His book *Ourselves and Germany* is an open plea for a "better understanding of Hitler and his problems." Londonderry himself is a great boar-hunter with Goering. His home is Chamberlain's favorite weekend place. Over thirty MP's are members of this Fellowship and the names of the corporate members include some of the biggest firms in the Federation of British Industries.

Other organizations of the same type, and even more sinister, are the "Link," the "Friends of Italy," and "Friends of National Spain." Mr. Alfred Denville, MP, at the Chelsea Town Hall agreed with Lord Redesdale on Nov. 25, 1938, that "General Franco

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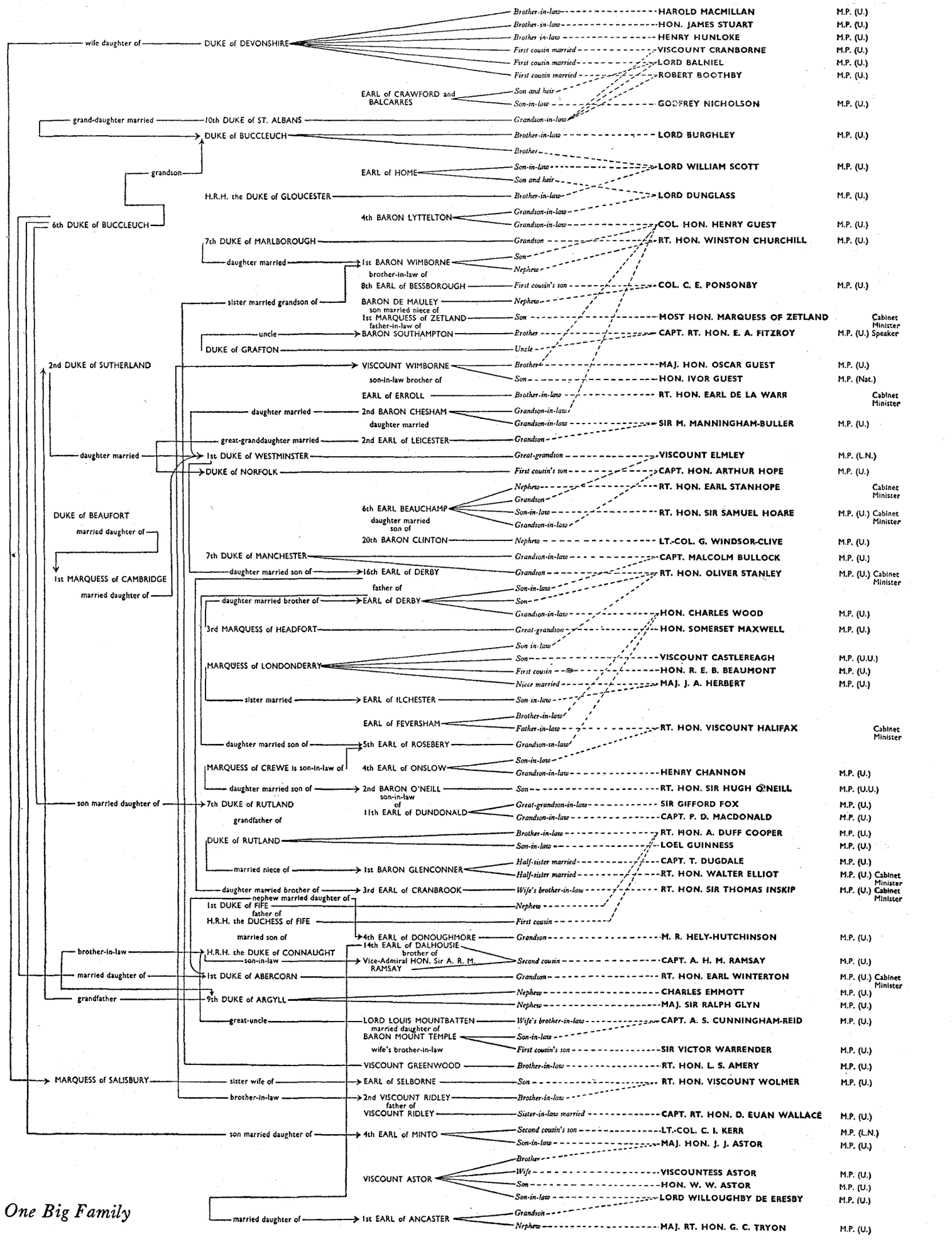
wife daughter of
DUKE of DEVONSHIRE
Brother-in-law — HAROLD MACMILLAN — M.P. (U.)
Brother-in-law — HON. JAMES STUART — M.P. (U.)
Brother-in-law — HENRY HUNLOKE — M.P. (U.)
First cousin married — VISCOUNT CRANBORNE — M.P. (U.)
First cousin married — LORD BALNIEL — M.P. (U.)
First cousin married — ROBERT BOOTHBY — M.P. (U.)
EARL of CRAWFORD and BALCARRES
Son and heir
Son-in-law — GODFREY NICHOLSON — M.P. (U.)
grand-daughter married
10th DUKE of ST. ALBANS
Grandson-in-law
DUKE of BUCCLEUCH
Brother-in-law — LORD BURGHLEY — M.P. (U.)
Brother
grandson
EARL of HOME
Son-in-law
LORD WILLIAM SCOTT — M.P. (U.)
Son and heir
H.R.H. the DUKE of GLOUCESTER
Brother-in-law — LORD DUNGLASS — M.P. (U.)
6th DUKE of BUCCLEUCH
4th BARON LYTTELTON
Grandson-in-law
Grandson-in-law — COL. HON. HENRY GUEST — M.P. (U.)
7th DUKE of MARLBOROUGH
Grandson — RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL — M.P. (U.)
daughter married
1st BARON WIMBORNE
Son
Nephew
brother-in-law of
8th EARL of BESSBOROUGH
First cousin's son — COL. C. E. PONSONBY — M.P. (U.)
sister married grandson of
BARON DE MAULEY
Nephew
son married niece of
1st MARQUESS of ZETLAND
Son — MOST HON. MARQUESS OF ZETLAND — Cabinet Minister
father-in-law of
uncle
BARON SOUTHAMPTON
Brother — CAPT. RT. HON. E. A. FITZROY — M.P. (U.) Speaker
DUKE of GRAFTON
Uncle
2nd DUKE of SUTHERLAND
VISCOUNT WIMBORNE
Brother — MAJ. HON. OSCAR GUEST — M.P. (U.)
son-in-law brother of
Son — HON. IVOR GUEST — M.P. (Nat.)
EARL of ERROLL
Brother-in-law — RT. HON. EARL DE LA WARR — Cabinet Minister
daughter married
2nd BARON CHESHAM
Grandson-in-law
daughter married
Grandson-in-law — SIR M. MANNINGHAM-BULLER — M.P. (U.)
great-granddaughter married
2nd EARL of LEICESTER
Grandson
daughter married
1st DUKE of WESTMINSTER
Great-grandson — VISCOUNT ELMLEY — M.P. (L.N.)
DUKE of NORFOLK
First cousin's son — CAPT. HON. ARTHUR HOPE — M.P. (U.)
Nephew — RT. HON. EARL STANHOPE — Cabinet Minister
6th EARL BEAUCHAMP
Grandson
Son-in-law — RT. HON. SIR SAMUEL HOARE — M.P. (U.) Cabinet Minister
daughter married
son of
Grandson-in-law
DUKE of BEAUFORT
married daughter of
20th BARON CLINTON
Nephew — LT.-COL. G. WINDSOR-CLIVE — M.P. (U.)
7th DUKE of MANCHESTER
Grandson-in-law — CAPT. MALCOLM BULLOCK — M.P. (U.)
daughter married son of
16th EARL of DERBY
Grandson — RT. HON. OLIVER STANLEY — M.P. (U.) Cabinet Minister
1st MARQUESS of CAMBRIDGE
married daughter of
father of
Son-in-law
daughter married brother of
EARL of DERBY
Son
Grandson-in-law — HON. CHARLES WOOD — M.P. (U.)
3rd MARQUESS of HEADFORT
Great-grandson — HON. SOMERSET MAXWELL — M.P. (U.)
Son-in-law
MARQUESS of LONDONDERRY
Son — VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH — M.P. (U.U.)
First cousin — HON. R. E. B. BEAUMONT — M.P. (U.)
Niece married — MAJ. J. A. HERBERT — M.P. (U.)
sister married
EARL of ILCHESTER
Son-in-law
Brother-in-law
EARL of FEVERSHAM
Father-in-law — RT. HON. VISCOUNT HALIFAX — Cabinet Minister
daughter married son of
5th EARL of ROSEBERY
Grandson-in-law
Son-in-law
MARQUESS of CREWE is son-in-law of
4th EARL of ONSLOW
Grandson-in-law — HENRY CHANNON — M.P. (U.)
daughter married son of
2nd BARON O'NEILL
Son — RT. HON. SIR HUGH O'NEILL — M.P. (U.U.)
son-in-law of
son married daughter of
7th DUKE of RUTLAND
11th EARL of DUNDONALD
Great-grandson-in-law — SIR GIFFORD FOX — M.P. (U.)
grandfather of
Grandson-in-law — CAPT. P. D. MACDONALD — M.P. (U.)
DUKE of RUTLAND
Brother-in-law — RT. HON. A. DUFF COOPER — M.P. (U.)
Son-in-law — LOEL GUINNESS — M.P. (U.)
Half-sister married — CAPT. T. DUGDALE — M.P. (U.)
married niece of
1st BARON GLENCONNER
Half-sister married — RT. HON. WALTER ELLIOT — M.P. (U.) Cabinet Minister
daughter married brother of
3rd EARL of CRANBROOK
Wife's brother-in-law — RT. HON. SIR THOMAS INSKIP — M.P. (U.) Cabinet Minister
nephew married daughter of
1st DUKE of FIFE
Nephew
father of
H.R.H. the DUCHESS of FIFE
First cousin
married son of
4th EARL of DONOUGHMORE
Grandson — M. R. HELY-HUTCHINSON — M.P. (U.)
14th EARL of DALHOUSIE
brother of
brother-in-law
H.R.H. the DUKE of CONNAUGHT
son-in-law
Vice-Admiral HON. Sir A. R. M. RAMSAY
Second cousin — CAPT. A. H. M. RAMSAY — M.P. (U.)
married daughter of
1st DUKE of ABERCORN
Grandson — RT. HON. EARL WINTERTON — M.P. (U.) Cabinet Minister
grandfather
9th DUKE of ARGYLL
Nephew — CHARLES EMMOTT — M.P. (U.)
Nephew — MAJ. SIR RALPH GLYN — M.P. (U.)
great-uncle
LORD LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN
Wife's brother-in-law — CAPT. A. S. CUNNINGHAM-REID — M.P. (U.)
married daughter of
BARON MOUNT TEMPLE
Son-in-law
wife's brother-in-law
First cousin's son — SIR VICTOR WARRENDER — M.P. (U.)
VISCOUNT GREENWOOD
Brother-in-law — RT. HON. L. S. AMERY — M.P. (U.)
MARQUESS of SALISBURY
sister wife of
EARL of SELBORNE
Son — RT. HON. VISCOUNT WOLMER — M.P. (U.)
brother-in-law
2nd VISCOUNT RIDLEY
Brother-in-law
father of
VISCOUNT RIDLEY
Sister-in-law married — CAPT. RT. HON. D. EUAN WALLACE — M.P. (U.)
son married daughter of
4th EARL of MINTO
Second cousin's son — LT.-COL. C. I. KERR — M.P. (L.N.)
Son-in-law — MAJ. HON. J. J. ASTOR — M.P. (U.)
Brother
Wife — VISCOUNTESS ASTOR — M.P. (U.)
VISCOUNT ASTOR
Son — HON. W. W. ASTOR — M.P. (U.)
Son-in-law — LORD WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY — M.P. (U.)
married daughter of
1st EARL of ANCASTER
Grandson
Nephew — MAJ. RT. HON. G. C. TRYON — M.P. (U.)

One Big Family

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was leading a crusade for all that they in England held dear." The earl of Glasgow, brother-in-law to Sir Thomas Inskip, then minister for coordination of defense, inquired in the House of Lords with some petulance "why this country should insist upon the withdrawal of Italian troops from Spain before they had finished the work they were sent there to do."

The tory MP's are not just the representatives of British capital. They also signify the integration of capitalist and imperialist circles with the British aristocracy. Originally a safeguard against aristocracy, the House of Commons today, as far as the Conservative majority is concerned, is tied up in a maze of intermarriage with the British nobility. In the Cabinet itself, there are three earls, a marquis, two viscounts, and a baron and baronet apiece. One tory MP is a peer; eighteen are heirs to peers; thirteen are younger sons of peers; twenty-five sons-in-law; twenty-four blood relations; twelve relations by marriage to peers; fifty-five landed gentry, twenty-four baronets, and sixty-four knights, making a total of 236 members of the aristocracy in one form or another out of 415 Conservatives in all. Half the Conservatives have cousins on the back benches; 145 MP's can be linked in a continuous chain of family relationships. An uncommon House of Commons indeed!

Hearst's Hoodlums

BILL HUNT is a scabbing reporter on Hearst's Chicago *Herald & Examiner*. A hulking 210-pounder, he tried all one day recently to pick a fight with Newspaper Guild pickets in front of the Hearst Building. Late in the afternoon Lucy Read, striking office worker and wife of Harry Read, president of the Chicago chapter of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and "Little Joe" Ingrassia, striking copy boy, were on the picketline, peddling copies of the guild *Hearst Strike News*. A friend called Mrs. Read to one side. While they discussed the strike, the name of scab Hunt was mentioned. At that moment Hunt happened to come out of the building and overheard the conversation.

Dashing over to picket Ingrassia, some twenty-five feet away, Hunt leaped on the boy's back and began to beat him. Police finally pulled Hunt off to discover that "Little Joe" had given a pretty good account of himself. Both Ingrassia and Hunt face disorderly conduct charges. During the fight, Merrill C. ("Big Stoop") Meigs, *American* publisher, stood in the doorway. It was "Big Stoop," it will be recalled, who pointed out the guild leaders he wanted arrested at the December 8 picketline clash at the plant.

"Little Joe" Ingrassia, because of his size has been a target for Hearst sluggers. On another occasion, when walking the picketline, Ingrassia was assaulted by George Roth, Hearst hoodlum leader.

Balance Sheet of the USSR and the Fascist Countries

THE SOVIET UNION

Vigorously Active for World Peace

THE maintenance of world peace has been and is the primary objective in Soviet foreign relations. The Soviet government renounced the old imperialist aims of the czars. It signed the Kellogg Peace Pact and joined the League of Nations. Consistently demonstrating its sincere desire for disarmament, it negotiated non-aggression pacts with all its neighbors except Japan, which refused to enter into any such treaty.

The Soviet Union firmly supports the principle that peace is indivisible and can be preserved only through genuine collective security, that is, a banding together of the peace-loving nations in their overwhelming might and with the uncompromising intent of collectively invoking economic and, in case of necessity, military sanctions against aggressors. The Soviet government was foremost in fulfilling the obligations to victim countries, in the spirit of the League Covenant, through sending material aid to the Spanish loyalists and the hard-pressed Chinese. It has steadfastly honored all its commitments under international law and the treaties to which it is signatory.

With the increasing boldness of fascist aggression and the increasing inactivity of the League, the Soviet Union proposed a system of regional pacts of mutual assistance against aggressors and concluded such pacts with France, Czechoslovakia, and the Mongolian People's Republic. During the Czechoslovakian crisis of September 1938, the Soviet Union, as ex-President Eduard Benes testified

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Geared for War and Aggression

AGGRESSIVE warfare for the redistribution of the world is the primary objective of fascist foreign policy, whether we consider Germany, Italy, or Japan. The open fascist offensive against international peace started with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, which finally developed into outright war on the whole of China. In 1935 came fascist Italy's attack on Ethiopia; in 1936 the combined assault of Mussolini and Hitler on loyalist Spain; and in 1938-39 Nazi Germany's seizure, through the tactic of brute blackmail and brigandage, of Austria, the Sudetenland, and then the rest of Czechoslovakia, not to mention the Italian sack of Albania.

The fascist dictators violate treaties whenever convenient. One by one Italy and Germany have torn up the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, while Japan has completely abrogated the Nine Power Pact. All three of these aggressor nations have treated the Kellogg Peace Pact as non-existent and have withdrawn from the League of Nations.

The danger of a new world war has been heightened by Hitler's annulment of his naval treaty with Britain and of his non-aggression pact with Poland. The international situation has grown still more acute with the conclusion of a formal military alliance between Italy and Germany. And it has become wholly clear that the Anti-Comintern Pact uniting Germany, Italy, and Japan is actually directed, as the Russians have always said, not so much

FOUR HUNDRED leading figures in education, the arts, and the sciences made public an appeal last week for closer cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union on behalf of world security and peace.

Fascism derives sustenance from bigger and better lies. Perhaps the greatest lie of all is the attempt to embrace the socialist and fascist systems by the word "totalitarian." Recently, many liberals, and persons otherwise progressive, have deluded themselves with this fantastic falsehood, thereby inviting fatal divisions among the democratic forces.

That is what the Declaration of the Four Hundred warns against. Representing no committee, or organization, and disavowing any intention of forming new committees or organizations, their statement serves only to stress ten basic points in which socialism contrasts fundamentally with totalitarian fascism. NEW MASSES prints the ten points as elaborated by the signers of the declaration themselves, fully agreeing with them that "Americans of whatever political persuasion must stand firmly for close cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, to be on guard against any and all attempts to prevent such cooperation in this critical period."

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in an interview, was the only nation that stood by its obligations. Though Soviet aid to Czechoslovakia was, under the terms of the pact, contingent on France first taking appropriate action, the USSR assured Czechoslovakia of military assistance whether or not any other nation offered it. Since Munich, Soviet Russia has stood ready to enter into any genuine peace front based on collective security extending to all countries threatened by fascist aggression.

The main reason for the peace policy of the Soviet Union is not that it has plenty of territory, since the war-mongering czarist empire had much more. The reason lies rather in the abolition within the USSR of the economic factors that make for war. In addition, Soviet Russia as a socialist republic has always maintained the ideal of a peaceful world society in which there exists full equality and democracy between the different races and nations.

A Free Brotherhood of Peoples

IN THE first week of its power, the Soviet government issued a decree proclaiming equality and free development for all distinct national and racial groups within the confines of Soviet Russia. This has been the Soviet policy ever since. Equal rights for the different nationalities and races of the USSR were recently reasserted as "an irrevocable law" in the new Soviet constitution.

The constitution states: "Any direct or indirect limitation of these rights, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, shall be punishable by law." The Supreme Congress of the country has a Soviet of Nationalities equal in all respects to the other legislative chamber.

The many different minority groups, their economic antagonisms ended because of the security and well-being guaranteed by socialism, now live in happiness and harmony, each with its own language, its own schools, and its own institutions in general. The result has been a veritable renaissance of minority arts and cultures in Russia along the lines of the general principle "national in form and socialist in content."

The Soviet attitude toward the Jews is particularly striking in the light of the long history of discriminations, indignities, and pogroms to which they were subjected in czarist

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against the Soviet Union as against England and France. The inclusion of Franco's Spain in that pact, the increasing fascist activities throughout Latin America, and the sharpening of the Far Eastern crisis have brought the menace of war and totalitarianism closer to America.

With the growing impoverishment of their peoples and the increasing economic strains at home, the fascist governments seek increasingly to ease domestic pressures through outward expansion. They divert the attention of their restive populations by means of foreign aggrandizement played up as a noble and glamorous adventure.

The fascist leaders frankly give praise to war as one of the finer things of life. Mussolini states: "War is to man what maternity is to woman. We reject the absurdity of eternal peace, which is foreign to our creed and temperament." His son Vittorio calls war "the most complete and beautiful of all sports."

Persecution of Racial Minorities

THE subordination and persecution of national and racial minorities is an intrinsic part of the fascist program and philosophy. The treatment of the Jews in Nazi Germany is of course the outstanding example. In their anti-Semitic excesses the Nazis have outdone even the Russian czars. German Jews today, solely on the grounds of racial origin, have been denied by law the most elementary political, economic, and social rights. They have been degraded, segregated, exiled, boycotted, robbed, imprisoned, and killed in cold blood.

The Nazi racist doctrines, contrary to scientific truth and moral principle, go far beyond legitimate pride in the historical achievements of the German people. They glorify the pure "Aryan" Germans as the chosen of the earth, superior to all other peoples and therefore rightfully entitled to rule the globe.

Thus, the concept of the brotherhood of man and the equality of nations has no place in the Nazi philosophy. It is not just Jews who are held in contempt. The lot of the subject Czechs and Slovaks within the Greater Reich is certainly not an enviable one. At the 1936 Olympic Games Nazi officials accused America of bad sportsmanship for entering "fleetfooted animals," that is, Negroes, in the races. Hitler and his followers look down upon both the English and French as degenerate peoples. And in the long run even the Italians and Japanese will receive the same sort of consideration.

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times. Today anti-Semitism is not only officially a crime, but is in practice unknown. Everywhere in the Soviet Union Jews live on terms of security and equality with their fellow citizens. And the Soviet government has established the special Autonomous Region of Biro-Bidjan, where all Jews who so wish may make their home and develop peacefully their own economy and culture.

Socialization of Production and Distribution

WHILE there still exists an infinitesimal percentage of private enterprise, the land, the natural resources, the industries, and the means of distribution in the Soviet Union are collectively owned and administered. The successful collectivization of agriculture, that is, the merging of some 25,000,000 peasant holdings into about 250,000 big mechanized, cooperative farms, meant a far-reaching agrarian revolution in Russia second in importance only to the social and political revolution of 1917.

The economic facilities of the Soviet republic are operated for use and not for profit. The basic principle is that there should be no exploitation of the labor of others. The chief goal of the economic system is the provision to every individual of more and more consumers' goods, that is, *personal* property like clothes, houses, furniture, and automobiles.

Socialist Planning for Abundance

DEMOCRATICALLY administered socialist planning in Soviet Russia has for its goal the achievement of a life of security and abundance for all of the people. Since the start of the Five Year Plans in 1928, the standard of living has risen rapidly throughout the USSR, with socialism becoming successfully and solidly established in every sphere of the economy.

During the Second Five Year Plan, 1933-38, consumers' goods and producers' wages more than doubled. The volume of industrial output rose to 800 percent above 1913 and became second only to that of the United States. The harvests in this period were the largest in the country's history. Famine and the threat of famine, for centuries the major economic evil in old Russia, have

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As a domestic policy the official inculcation and carrying through of racial chauvinism in the fascist states aim to deflect into a blind alley the growing unrest of the peoples over their economic difficulties. At the same time the stirring up of racial animosities abroad weakens unity against fascist aggression and sows the fatal seeds of fascist regimes in other lands.

A Monopolist Economy Run for Profit

THERE has been no basic change in property relations in the fascist countries. The means of production and distribution are still in the hands of individual capitalists, whether in industry, agriculture, banking, or any other section of the economy. The decisive economic power in the nation is wielded by a small group of reactionary capitalists, in particular the armament monopolists. Economic enterprise is undeniably run for profits and superprofits at the expense of the well-being of the people as a whole.

Though state controls are more extensive in the fascist nations than in other capitalist lands, these controls are exercised on behalf of the armament and heavy industry capitalists and large landholders. Such controls have in no sense overcome, but on the contrary have intensified, the fundamental economic contradictions inherent in the fascist system.

Totalitarian Planning for War

WHATEVER degree of planning exists within the fascist countries is planning for the express purpose of arming the nation and preparing for aggression. In effect, this means planning for poverty, since the workers are expected and required to subordinate their whole existence to the needs of the state for enhanced military resources. Living standards and real wages in Germany, Italy, and Japan have steadily declined. Because of this, and the program of longer hours and industrial speedup, the health of the populations under fascism increasingly deteriorates.

The foreign trade of the fascist dictatorships is of course geared entirely to their tremendous armaments programs. General Goering's famous "Cannon instead of butter" has become a universal fascist slogan. Re-

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become nothing but ugly memories.

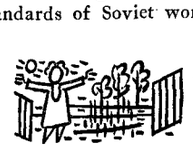
Through its controls over production, money, wages, and prices Soviet planning is able to keep production and consumption in harmony by ensuring that the people always have the purchasing power to buy back the goods produced. Depression and unemployment have apparently been permanently abolished in the USSR, with the constitution guaranteeing a job and material security to everyone. The Third Five Year Plan, 1938-43, will accomplish more, it is expected, than the first two plans put together.

The Expansion of Trade Unions

OUT of a working population of 28,000,000 eligible for membership, almost 24,000,000 Soviet workers belong to one of the 166 different unions. Memembership is voluntary.

While Soviet industries are publicly owned, the trade unions carry on regular collective bargaining with the managements of factories and other enterprises over wages, hours, and working conditions. Labor protection is more highly developed in the USSR than anywhere else in the world. A seven hour day is the rule in industry, with a six hour day for some forms of heavier labor.

The Soviet Unions are free to put much of their energy into educational and administrative work. They have full responsibility for insurance benefits which substantially supplement wage income in the USSR. And they are active in various community enterprises such as the maintenance of factory restaurants and recreation centers, and in numerous ways contribute to the rising living and cultural standards of Soviet workers.



The Emancipation of Woman

IT WAS Lenin who said that no nation can be free until a whole half of its population, "the working woman, enjoys equal rights with men and until she is no longer kept a slave by her household and family." This idea has become a basic principle in the Soviet Union and has been written into the constitution as follows: "Women in the USSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life." The realization of these rights of women

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strictions on the imports of basic foodstuffs have led to severe shortages in eggs, butter, cheese, milk, and meat.

The intense industrial activity and comparative lack of unemployment in the fascist nations are primarily a result of the armaments race and do not indicate any solution of basic economic problems. The armaments boom, piling up ever more astronomical figures of public debt, cannot continue indefinitely at the present pace. Even without a general war, a sure day of reckoning awaits the unstable fascist economies.

The Destruction of Trade Unions

ONE of the first steps which a fascist regime takes is to destroy the trade unions, root and branch. The individual employer under fascism wishes to be able to exploit the workers according to his own free, profit-motivated will; the state, representing the dominant business groups as a whole, wishes to go ahead with its armament and aggression programs unhampered by any sort of opposition from the working class. The ten hour day is now permitted and encouraged in Germany.

In place of the old trade unions, most of whose leaders are dead or in concentration camps, Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco have set up fake workers' organizations with control from the top down and with democratic procedures as completely absent as in the nation at large.

The fascist dictatorships, furthermore, have destroyed not only the trade unions, but *all* types of organizations of the people which offered any possibility of united resistance to totalitarian rule.

The Degradation of Woman

IN THE fascist nations there has been a decided intensification of the traditional view of the ruling-class male that women are inferior beings and fit only for the well-known trinity of "Kuche, Kirche, Kinder" (Kitchen, Church, Children). Family life centers around the needs and desires of the male partner. The breeding of children augments the fighting manpower of the warmaking state. The ruling dictators, while crying out one day that their people are being suffocated

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is ensured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest, social insurance, and education; and by state protection of the interests of mother and child, pregnancy leave with pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries, and kindergartens.

It is significant that 38 percent of the students in Soviet higher educational institutions are of the female sex. As of 1938, 16 percent of the deputies in the All-Union Congress of Soviets were women, compared with 2 percent in the British House of Commons and 1 percent in the Congress of the United States.

Meanwhile the rising living standards in Soviet Russia as well as the growing limitations on domestic drudgery and family tyranny have served to strengthen the unity of the home and to make its life richer and more harmonious.

Unprecedented Advance of Culture

CULTURAL expansion and development in Soviet Russia have gone hand in hand with the material progress and have been just as striking. The ultimate goal in the USSR is to build, upon the foundations of economic security and equilibrium, a culture of socialist humanism unequaled in both qualitative achievement and the proportion of the people participating as creators and sharers.

Art and literature, drama and music, no longer the private property of a small minority, have become the possession of the entire Soviet people and have entered into the very fiber of their beings. During the first two Five Year Plans illiteracy decreased to less than 5 percent of the population as compared with the 70 percent figure of 1913. The number of children in primary and secondary schools increased from eight million to almost thirty million and the total students in a greatly expanded system of higher educational institutions grew five times over. As of 1938 there were 550,000 such students in the Soviet Union as compared with an aggregate of 416,000 in the comparable institutions of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan put together.

The Third Five Year Plan will make formal education compulsory for everyone up to eighteen in the cities, and prepare the way for a similar advance in the countryside. This is a step unprecedented among the nations of the world. The cul-

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from lack of space, urge on the next the bearing of more and more children.

At the same time women are dismissed or barred from all important governmental posts and are automatically paid lower wages than men in the more humble positions open to them.

Women are literally regarded as cattle, used for breeding purposes or slave labor as the Nazis require. The decree making it compulsory for all women wishing to enter employment to put in a year of labor service on farms or in households has now been extended to *all* unmarried women under twenty-five.

The declining living standards and economic tensions under fascism naturally react adversely on the home as the material and psychological prerequisites for wholesome domestic life contract and wither away.

The Debasement of Culture

THE retrogression of culture in the book-burning, art-killing, genius-banishing fascist states is a truism of these times. The crisis in economic and political affairs is naturally reflected in the cultural realm. As more and more of the economic resources and human energies of the nation go into the preparation for and waging of war, less and less is available for cultural activities.

From 116,154 university students in Germany in 1932-33, there has been a decline to 67,082 in 1936-37, and to 53,753 in 1937-38, representing a loss of 42.2 percent of the student body for 1936-37 and of 53.7 percent for 1937-38. The 1936-37 figures show that in certain fi[illegible] science the loss has been even [illegible] than the average: e.g., 47.1 [illegible] in engineering and 64.4 perce[illegible] mathematics and the natural sciences taken as a whole.

In Nazi Germany there is hardly one outstanding world figure in art or literature who has not fled the country, been exiled or thrown into prison.

It goes without saying that there is no place in Hitler's Reich for the numerous German artists and writers of note who are of Jewish origin. And the fascist "civilizers" ban even the works of Jews long dead, such as the symphonies of Mendelssohn and the poems of Heine.

Under fascism the whole of education from the tenderest years to the more mature, from physical training to reading in the classics, is turned into the glorification of mili-

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THE SOVIET UNION

tural awakening has extended to tens of millions of formerly ignorant and illiterate peasants as well as to the once backward minority groups. The masses of the Soviet people have become voracious readers, with newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and books being printed and circulated in billions of copies.

In 1938 the Soviet Union published forty thousand titles with a circulation of 692,700,000. Books are published in more than one hundred languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Science in the Service of the People

THE most basic educational aim of all in the Soviet Union is to teach the people the methods and conclusions of modern experimental science.

In every sphere of activity and in every part of the country scientific truths and procedures are replacing oldtime superstitions and outworn social-economic theory. The number of professional scientists has gone up from three thousand to forty thousand since czarist days.

The system of socialist planning turns the whole nation into one huge laboratory in which scientific experiments of unparalleled scope can be carried on. Soviet science is geared to the service of the people and does not have a prior obligation to the cause of profit, war, or anything else. At the same time Soviet scientists are thoroughly awake to the need of "pure" research more or less remote from immediate utilitarian pressures. Outstanding achievements of Soviet science are the magnificent, country-wide system of public health, the exploration of the Arctic regions, and ıe non-stop flights to America.

The philosophical counterpart of Soviet science is the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism, which offers the individual an inclusive and integrated way of life.

Evolution Toward Fullest Democracy

THE Soviet republic has always considered political dictatorship as a transitional measure necessary for the firm establishment of socialism in a country emerging from a backward past and from an absolute autocracy in which no genuine democratic institutions or habits existed.

THE FASCIST STATES

tary conquest, the attuning of mind and body to the ferocities of war. The appreciation of nature is transformed into a study of military strategy in open country.

Since fascism is anti-democratic in its very essence, there is no room where it rules for such a thing as cultural democracy. The masses of the people are looked down upon with contempt as innately inferior and incapable of developing the mental capacity or esthetic sense to appreciate the higher intellectual and artistic pursuits.

Science Perverted for War and Mysticism

GERMAN science, once unrivaled in the entire world, has become the humble handmaiden to the gods of war and racist propaganda. In the important field of industrial technique and invention, fascist science in all the totalitarian countries is primarily concerned with speeding up and making more efficient the machine of aggression. In Nazi Germany, especially, one of the chief aims of scientific activity is to discover ways and means of making ever more numerous *Ersatz* goods, that is, substitute products for the genuine article which can no longer be manufactured because the necessary materials have been commandeered for military purposes.

The sciences of biology, psychology, and sociology must all prove the mystic Nazi doctrine of pure and impure races, of the superiority of "Aryans," of the all-decisive influence of heredity and the unimportance of environment. The result is a pseudo-scientific mumbo-jumbo on a level with the eerie superstitions of the most primitive tribe.

The fascists in general retain the enervating, compensatory myths of supernaturalism. Those of them who turn against Christian theory substitute for it ancient tribal superstitions like Wotan-worship.

Democracy Considered "A Putrid Corpse"

MUSSOLINI'S statement that democracy is "a putrid corpse" expresses accurately the fascist attitude toward the democratic way of life. The fascists intend that their dictatorship shall go on forever. Hitler talks of the Nazi form of government lasting at least a thousand

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The Soviet dictatorship disappears as the need for it disappears. Joseph Stalin recently said, "Leaders come and go, but the people remain. Only the people are immortal. Everything else is transient."

The most convincing sign that the Soviet Union is really putting democracy into effect was the enactment of the new constitution in December 1936. Since the Soviet idea has been from the start that true democracy demands certain economic and cultural foundations, this constitution reflects the immense progress that has been made. Its new "rights of man," cited in the introductory statement, make clear that the socialist concept of democracy covers the significant categories of economic, cultural, sex, and racial democracy. In addition, the constitution gives the franchise to all persons of both sexes eighteen years of age or more and guarantees by law freedom of religious worship, of speech, of the press, of assembly and meetings, and demonstrations.

The Soviet Union has introduced many new democratic forms which implement the law. Through shop meetings and wall newspapers, the Soviet citizen exercises his democratic rights at the place where he works, through tenants' meetings at the place where he lives. Through production and planning conferences he takes part in the democratic control of expanding production and improving quality. Members of the collective farms plan their own activities and choose the farm management. They exert a direct influence on public affairs through their constant "self-criticism" as expressed in communications to the newspapers, magazines, and other such organs.

Civilization Moves Steadily Ahead

EMERGING from a backward, semi-feudal economy in which 85 percent of the population were primitive-minded peasants, from a czarist dictatorship outstanding in reaction, inefficiency, and corruption, and from eight devastating years of the Great War, civil war, intervention, and famine all combined, the Soviet people have built, in a little more than two decades, a new and promising civilization based on socialist foundations in economics and culture.

This socialist society is certainly no Utopia, and it has a long distance to go in almost every respect. But its main problems are those of growth and not decay. And unquestionably in the ways that we call *civilized* the Soviet Union continues to forge steadily ahead.

THE FASCIST STATES

years. In fascist theory there is no thought of, or provision for, an ultimate transition to democracy.

As the totalitarian states mature and their political forms crystallize, they become increasingly undemocratic and anti-democratic in nature, stamping out more and more completely all elements and organizations which might serve as a rallying point for democratic expression and action. This is why the Nazis have been constantly violating religious freedom and bearing down hard on both Protestants and Catholics. In addition, as the economic strains and stresses multiply in the fascist countries and their populations grow more restive, the methods of terror and tyranny must be redoubled in order to maintain the regime.

The fascists are so bent on stamping out the idea of democracy that they consider the existence of democratic governments in other lands an intolerable menace and only slightly less deplorable than Bolshevism itself. Hence the fascists wish to bring about the downfall of the democracies, not only in order to redivide their territories, but also to suppress all traces of the democratic ideal in the world.

It is significant that Nazi Germany not only has no constitution, but tore up the advanced and progressive Weimar Constitution of the post-war republic. Said Hitler to the Reich commissioners on July 6, 1933: ". . . We must now get rid of the last remains of democracy, especially the methods of voting and the decisions by the majority, such as still often occur in the communes, in economic organizations, and in working committees. . . ."

Civilization Moves Steadily Backward

IN EVERY country where they have come to power the fascists have set back the clock of history and plunged their peoples into a new Dark Age. Fascism decrees the end of almost everything that civilized men hold dear. It means unceasing violence, in both domestic and foreign affairs. It means war and imperialism and the roar of bombers overhead. It means the erection of racial and national prejudice into a major principle of government. It means the death of democracy and labor's rights, of civil liberties and academic freedom. It means the burning of the books and the degradation of culture. It means a decline in living standards and the permanence of economic crisis. Civilization goose-steps steadily backward.

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The USSR and Germany

THE news of the Soviet-German negotiations for a non-aggression pact comes as we go to press. We must therefore reserve discussion of its full significance until our next issue. These, however, seem to us the most important things to emphasize in this moment of great international tension: The dramatic thing about the Soviet decision to begin negotiations for a pact with Nazi Germany lies in its timing. But in principle, the Soviet Union has always stood for peaceful, businesslike relations with all countries. At the Eighteenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party last March, Joseph Stalin stressed what all friends and observers of the Soviet Union know: that the Russian people "stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries." To this end, the Soviet Union has concluded many non-aggression pacts, and in fact, repeatedly offered one to both Germany and Japan, having had the pact with Italy since 1933. The same goes for trade relations. Indeed, the seven-year credit terms and unusual interest rates in the newly concluded trade treaty represent concessions from Hitler as much as they reaffirm the strength and trustworthiness of Soviet power.

In its timing, in the fact that the negotiations come at this time rather than any other, lies a great deal of significance. For this is a moment when the pro-fascists in Great Britain and France are seeking some new and tortuous path to a second Munich. On the one hand, they were sabotaging the peace front with Moscow, placing obstacles in the way of an immediate signature to the Anglo-French Soviet treaty. On the other hand, through the Oslo powers, pressure upon Hungary, Poland, and even through soundings in Washington, they endeavored to find a formula that would conciliate Hitler without bringing into force their own pledges to Poland.

This is the classic policy of the French and British reactionaries. This was the essence of Munich last September. It represents not only the sacrifice of the smaller nations in Europe, but of the national interests of England and France themselves. It envisions the Soviets "pulling British chestnuts out of the fire," while on the other hand it wishes to propel the axis toward the east, that is, the Soviet Union. By opening negotiations for a non-aggression pact, the Soviet Union has now called Chamberlain's hand.

It should be understood that a non-aggression pact has nothing in common with a treaty of mutual assistance such as the Soviet Union contracted with France and Czechoslovakia in 1935. If a pact such as the Soviet Union has with the Baltic states is signed, Germany and Russia will agree merely not to attack each other. Nor is there anything in the principle of non-aggression treaties which would prevent other nations from uniting with the Soviet Union in the case of an attack by Hitler upon their borders or territories. In short, nothing in the negotiations prevents England and France from signing a peace front with the Soviet Union and thus assuring Polish independence against Hitler.

What, then, is the position of Poland? What it was before, that is, in the shadow of imminent danger unless a cry goes up from the British and French peoples compelling their governments to come to terms with Moscow. Polish resistance is thereby strengthened if the Soviet move brings nearer, as it was intended to do, a firm alliance against aggression upon Poland.

In other words, by a single move the Soviet Union has revealed all the forces that are imperiling Poland's freedom. First of all Germany, of course—but the Munichois of England and France as well, so long as they refuse to implement their pledge to Poland by joining hands with the Soviet Union in a peace front.

But the Soviet move is bound to have other and equally significant effects. For one thing, all the contradictions within the axis are magnified. Mussolini may well inquire where the latest involvement of his partner gets him. Japan, angling for a Western ally in its own provocations against the Soviet Union, must save face in a big way: for Germany must now go on record not to attack the Soviet Union. Thereby even Japan's signature to the anti-Comintern alliance becomes a formality. China, as the press reports, takes encouragement from Japan's predicament.

Sober citizens in the United States, discounting the headlines and the synthetic alarm of pro-Munich editorialists, will appreciate that this exposure of Chamberlain and Bonnet makes it more difficult for these same forces to bring the United States into the tow of their policies. For one thing, negotiations looking toward a Munich for the Far East at the expense of the United States receive a setback. For another, it becomes more difficult for Halifax, Chamberlain, Bonnet, and their friends to expect the United States to help them prepare the stage for a second Munich.

People who want to know what is happening abroad must always remember that just because the events of last September aroused such resentment in every decent person, a second Munich under the same setting and with the same actors is, for the fascists, a difficult thing to achieve. From the axis point of view, the problem is to get Danzig and prepare the breakup of Poland first of all, without fighting, and second, without straining to the point of uselessness the position of Hitler's friends in the French and British governments. These friends can still do the trick for Hitler but only under unusual circumstances and with unusual exertions. The Soviet Union's move will make these exertions even more difficult, for Chamberlain and Bonnet will have an awakened and aroused public opinion at home demanding the signature of that pact pronto.

The Soviet move cannot be seen as something in itself. It is all the more nonsensical to speak of reconciliation between fascism and Communism. These moves must be seen in the context of a great effort which the Soviet Union and all the democratic peoples of Europe are making in alliance with each other to smash those fifth column groups who would capitulate to fascism.

The issue may come to a head very shortly. The thing to watch for is a situation in which the Vatican, or the Oslo powers, or perhaps some other capitulator, may be persuaded to call some sort of conference, or pave the way for a conference, which Hitler would at first ridicule and then, having been assured of concessions, come into at the end and emerge as the victor. We must beware the war of nerves, the press campaign, the alarum of embassies closing down, of harbors being barricaded, air raids in the offing. The issue is not "war or appeasement" at all. By tying up Germany so that Hitler is compelled to declare he will not attack the Soviet Union, the issue has been placed before the responsible governments of the great powers. If they step up and sign that pact with Russia, and stand by their pledges to Poland, and cease their twisting and squirming toward a new Munich, peace can be saved without saving Hitler.

Dies Comes Back

FRITZ KUHN enjoyed himself last week. Summoned before the Dies committee to testify in its alleged investigation of Nazi activities, Kuhn was keen enough to see the opportunity to plug the Bund philosophy. Wisely destroying his correspondence with his bosses overseas, just in case any of the committee members overstepped the bounds of propriety, Kuhn was ready to fill any space the press might offer. The press offered plenty, and Kuhn filled it. For two days the papers gave wide publicity to his statements that the Bund was not really a Nazi outfit, in the sense that it was linked with Germany, but a sturdy defender of the true Americanism. Kuhn and Dies used the old double entendre against Attorney General Murphy, when Kuhn implied that the former governor of Michigan had given his blessing to the Bund in a speech at a Detroit meeting. It later developed that the meeting was just some sort of German-American rally, not Nazi, and that Murphy had had no kind words for the Bund.

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Several months of surcease have not improved the Dies committee. It persists in using evidence of any sort chiefly as a weapon with which to attack the New Deal. Dies himself continues as a sort of vicious clown who, whether or not he is serious about investigating fascism, is too near it in his own beliefs to be party to any effective study. The committee's failure to get any of the really significant material on the Nazis is the result either of its members' sympathy toward the fascists or of their bumbling stupidity, and probably both. One reporter, William Allan, writing in the New York *Sunday Worker* for August 20, turned up more information on Nazi work in Detroit than Dies has produced on the whole country in a year **and a half.**

Japan and Britain

THE Far Eastern chess match entered its semi-finals last week with a proposal from Great Britain that negotiations with Tokyo be resumed with the cooperation of "interested third parties." That means the United States. On the face of it, such a suggestion will hardly meet with American favor. The position of the United States was made clear over a month ago by the abrogation of the 1911 trade treaty. If Congress had heeded the desire of the great proportion of the American people, America's attitude would have been even more sharply defined by the imposition of an embargo upon all trade with the aggressor.

On the other hand, there are circumstances under which Anglo-American cooperation would be valuable. Together with France, these are the powers most directly affected by Japan's insolent, persistent aggression against China. The crucial question is: on what basis shall America cooperate with Britain? If it shall be in defense of the provisions of the Nine Power Treaty and the territorial integrity of China, very well. But if the British are trying to involve the United States in the sort of thing which has characterized British diplomacy since Munich, nothing would be more dangerous.

This distinction is doubly important in view of the immediate record in Britain's suspended negotiations with Japan. Straightaway, Sir Robert Craigie recognized the "new order of things" in the Far East. Last week, the British agreed to yield the four Chinese prisoners to Japan. Happily, Norman Bentwich, British lawyer, and Sara Margery Fry, a noted social worker, have secured permission to file a writ of *habeas corpus* which will prevent handing the prisoners over for at least a while.

The Japanese blockade at Tientsin was to be lifted upon the release of the prisoners. Naturally, the Japanese would have double-crossed the British had not the flood at Tientsin virtually lifted the blockade anyway. More than that, the Japanese attacks upon the British continue; Hongkong is now menaced and the international concession at Shanghai endangered. What the Japanese are after, as NEW MASSES indicated in its issue of August 15, is the fifty million ounces of silver now in British care at Tientsin. Of course, they want further concessions, if not cooperation, from England in the invasion of China.

Instead of facing up firmly to Japan, the British government now projects the possibility that the Nine Power Treaty will be entirely disavowed. Over the weekend, the Foreign Office reiterated its stand that "Britain does not regard treaties as eternal, and is prepared to consider any constructive proposals the Japanese government may make regarding the modification of existing treaties."

It is this "let's kiss and make up" attitude which constitutes the best reason why the United States should go into any Far Eastern conference with a policy that flows from its historic position and its national interest.

Democracy Wanted

TWO of Bill Green's internationals are now in open revolt against the high-handed actions of the AFL Executive Council. The International Typographical Union has been suspended from the parent body because the printers have refused to pay special assess-

"Hy, Pal." Mischa Richter

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ments to fight the CIO. A referendum among ITU's 79,000 members showed a tremendous majority in favor of any assessments designed to organize the unorganized, but not one cent for Bill Green's vanity. The boys in the composing room, led by the late Charles Howard, were one of the first AFL unions to assist CIO organization, and later to fight for labor unity, but the autocratic AFL executive has finally broken their patience. The actors' muddle, which is no muddle at all but a gangster raid by one AFL international on another, is the second crisis deliberately prolonged by Green's council. AAAA, the actor's international, in cleaning the slate of oldline leadership in its constituent union, the American Federation of Actors, chartered a new union, The American Guild of Variety Artists, in the same jurisdiction, a prerogative which is clearly the constitutional right of the 4-A. Whereupon the gangster-dominated stagehands' international, IATSE, illegally grabbed the AFA charter as an entering wedge in capturing the actor unions. Forced to act by the indignant uproar of the actors, Green set up an "arbitration committee" which offered the curious compromise of rescinding the IATSE grab, but sending AFA back into the 4-A with its old leadership and outmoded methods. The actors are not going back. They notified Bill Green as much. They may withdraw from the AFL if the executive does not recognize their autonomy.

Dairy Farmers on Strike

NEW YORK'S inspiring milk strike is the dairy farmers' answer to the unprecedented misery caused by the trust's control of the industry and accentuated by this summer's drought.

The strikers want a decent price for their milk—$2.35 per hundredweight, no matter what the trust uses the milk for. They are striking to abolish the classification racket under which farmers and consumers join in subsidizing the trust's butter and cheese business through an artificially high price on fluid milk. Although the Dairy Farmers Union claims only fifteen thousand out of the sixty thousand farmers in the milkshed, the strike is over 50 percent effective and growing stronger every day. Members of the Dairymen's League, the Sheffield Producers, and other trust-dominated cooperatives are out on the picketline, rebuking the strikebreaking attempts of their official leadership. So widespread is strike support that GOP judges are suspending sentences on arrested pickets.

The misery of the farmers has caused the growth of the strike, but the support of labor, consumers, and the progressives has been a decisive factor contributing to its chances of ultimate success. By providing funds, organizers, and public support, both CIO and AFL unions have made an important contribution not only to the strike but to farmer-labor unity. In rejecting a strikebreaking proposal to extend the milkshed west into Wisconsin, Mayor LaGuardia pointed a lesson which unfortunately Governor Lehman has yet to learn—the need for progressive support to legitimate aspirations of the farmers.

Consumers, remembering the years of suffering of the farmers, are willing to put up with a little inconvenience to help the farmers get what is coming to them. The Dairy Farmers Union, on its part, has emphasized that a successful strike will not mean higher consumer prices by offering to supply the city itself with all the milk it can distribute, to retail at 10 cents a quart. Even before the strike was called, the union had worked out methods of guaranteeing milk to hospitals, health stations, clinics, etc.

Manifestations of support for the strike, whether by individuals or organizations, can prove of key importance in demonstrating to the farmers that the city folk support them. It is also important that progressive sentiment should be mobilized in support of the farmers' demands at the hearings on a new Milk Marketing Order, to be held at the end of this week, and that Secretary of Agriculture Wallace in Washington and Commissioner Holton Noyes in Albany should know that the city people support the farmers' struggle for a fair price.

Tory Oratory

LABOR was invited, but it was pretty well understood that its place was in the kitchen. The people who backed the World Congress for Education and Democracy made it plain from the very beginning that this was a gathering in which the elect of business and those politicos of whom business approved would give a few days to these perplexing problems and see what could be done. The time had come, said Dean William Fletcher Russell, of Columbia University's Teachers College, when he announced the congress last December, for educators "to seek the advice of business men." Dean Russell, along with Nicholas Murray Butler and Winthrop Aldrich of Chase National Bank, organized the sessions that took place on Morningside Heights last week.

For the most part the congress was so much pap. Stanley Baldwin; Sir Ernest Bevin, the Matthew Woll of England; Felix McWhirter, General Moseley's friend; Winthrop Aldrich, and a score of other bankers, industrialists, and their politicians did most of the talking. It was a godsend to the New York *Times,* which ran page after page of the tory oratory, but otherwise it was little more than fullblown apologetic for appeasement and reaction. A few voices, like that of Edouard Herriot, who attacked Hitler without gloves, were drowned out by the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, the American Bankers Association. The really serious problems of the immediate future of both education and democracy got their only attention from the scattered delegates of the CIO and AFL, and the few progressive educators. A congress that would attain the stated objectives of this one would reverse the representation.

"Krivitsky's" Game

THE scheduled appearance of "General Krivitsky" before the Dies committee becomes an issue aside from the fumbling and partisan procedure that has been employed to date. For "Krivitsky" is something more than a garden variety malcontent and renegade. He is an agent of a group which, by its own admission, seeks ends identical with those of the fascists, whose ends in turn are the armed conquest of every democracy. At the Moscow trials the Trotskyites admitted this, and in his public statements in this country "Krivitsky" has made no particular effort to mask his own connections with Leon Trotsky. Sedov, Trotsky's son, openly campaigned in behalf of the group his father directed. "I saw Sedov almost daily," said "Krivitsky," and he expressed his gratitude for the "help and comfort" given him by Sedov.

If "Krivitsky's" connections with fascism's friends inside the Soviet Union are clear, his relations with the same group elsewhere are not less so. Trotskyism, like fascism, functions best with the aid of divisive and sabotaging fifth columns. Trotskyites here are as eager as Sedov was to give "help and comfort" to "Krivitsky." Two of the most prominent, for example, find themselves named by Harper & Bros., which will publish in book form the *Saturday Evening Post* articles of Isaac Don Levine and "Krivitsky." In the Harpers salesman's office information sheet, the publishers inform the staff: "As you know, NEW MASSES questioned authenticity of Krivitsky material in *Satevepost.* If questions come up you may want to know that Professors [John] Dewey and [Sidney] Hook of Columbia University have written us about importance of this material." Harpers might have gone on to mention the part these two played in the Mexico City whitewash trial that exonerated Trotsky of all charges of sabotage of the Soviet military and economic machines. Harpers certainly knew, for Harpers published the committee's official report, and John Dewey headed the committee.

Now, "Krivitsky's" political status is clear enough to any student of world politics. Regardless of what connections he cares to admit or disavow, his very approach is confirmation enough. But "Krivitsky" goes further. He tells of his cooperation with Sedov and the Trotskyites. And the men who front for Trotsky here back him to the hilt. He entered the country under a dust cloud of intrigue and faking, engineered by his friends abroad. His testimony before the Dies committee will be part of the same strategy. As an agent of Trotsky, and more dangerous because he is masked as a "revolutionary," he will be a spokesman of international fascism. His entry into this country, his dubious status here, and his ministrations give progressives good reason vehemently to protest his activities and urge the U. S. Labor Department to prosecute further its case against him as a subject for deportation.

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Readers' Forum

Missing Longshoreman

To New Masses: My name is Alice Maffia. I am the fiancee of Peter Panto, longshoreman, who left his home on July 14 and never came back. He never did that before and I am sure he did not do it then of his own free will. Something horrible must have happened to him. That is why I write to you. I want you to help me find him. His father, who is old and ailing, and I appeal to you to use your influence with the mayor and police to help find our Pete.

Maybe you read about Pete in the papers. Walter Winchell—my heart goes dead when I think of it —says maybe he's at the bottom of the East River. Whoever it was took him away did it because he was a good man. He tried to help the longshoremen, to save them from the gangsters and racketeers on the waterfront, to break the kickback system, and to make the union [ILA] a better union for the men. The longshoremen liked Pete. The last time he called a meeting hundreds came. They wanted to go his way because they knew his way was right, and he was for them. That was why he was taken away.

We were to be married this October. I am a poor girl. I don't know how to go about doing the things that will find Pete. I am hoping you can do something, write to the mayor or to the police asking for a thorough investigation into the disappearance of our Pete; tell them you know about Pete and that his girl is pleading for your help. I am hoping that you will appeal to your readers to do the same. Please, I beg you to do everything you can.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Alice Maffia.

Pity the Nobility

To New Masses: I think you are all too unsympathetic to Isaac Don Levine. It should be borne in mind that the Levine family, like all the other Russian noble families, lost their vast estates, their sables, and their jewels, when the revolution came; thus it is only human for Isaac Don to lament the passing of those good old czarist days when, as a lad, he romped through the rooms and the great halls of the palace at Tsarskoe Selo. Another nobleman—or, at any rate, one of an old Russian noble family—is Simeon Strunsky. Whether the Strunskys and the Romanovs were related I do not know, but it would seem so judging by the anti-Communist paragraphs that appear in Simeon's column in the New York *Times*—owned, by the way, by Sulzberger and a member of the Ochs family, themselves scions of two old German noble families. Curious how the remnants of Russian and German nobility have been reduced to newspaper work in New York.

New York City. Morton Phillips.

In Progressive Canada

To New Masses: Re your railroad article in the July 18 issue: The London & Port Stanley R. R. (Ontario) is an old line of the N. Y. Central lines which was bought from the N. Y. Central and Pere Marquette R. R. and electrified about twenty years ago. It serves London (eighty thousand population), St. Thomas (twenty thousand population), and Port Stanley, a summer resort. The distance from one end to the other is approximately twenty-five miles. It is a radial or interurban railway. It became the property of the city of London, Ont., about fifteen years ago and since it couldn't be handled profitably by the L&PS Railway Commission it was given over to the London Public Utilities Commission three years ago, which also handles Water and Hydro, and since has shown a profit every year. Every man on the road from conductors to train washers, etc., are members of one union, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees. It has been said this is the only road outside of the USSR where this is so. The road also operates (under PUC) several large concessions at the lakeside, including a dance hall which was the only one of its size in this part of the country to show a good operating profit last year; so far, this year's records show that both the L&PS and the dance hall will make an even better showing. It also operates coal docks, etc.

Of course this is all to the good. Both the taxpayers and users of the road benefit. Fare from London to Port Stanley has been reduced from 50 cents to 35 cents, with 25 cent fares after 6 p.m. This gives working people a chance to enjoy the cooling breezes of Lake Erie, etc. Public ownership does pay both financially and healthfully.

London, Ontario. John Barratta.

Add Sokolsky

To New Masses: I enjoyed your recent articles dealing with the press and certain of its luminaries. The article by Dale Kramer exposing further depths of George Sokolsky's treachery interested me as there is evidence available concerning his activities in the Soviet Union during the revolution.

In *This Is My Affair,* by Mona Kinel (a sister-in-law of Victor Young, the orchestra leader), the author relates that during the ten days that shook the world, she was employed as a secretary-stenographer by Sokolsky, who was at that time an editor of a British-owned newspaper in Russia. Sokolsky's anti-Soviet editorials and counter-revolutionary statements attracted the attention of the Soviet authorities, who sent a squad of sailors to tell Mr. Sokolsky to cease publishing his sheet. Mr. Sokolsky evaded this order by changing the name of the paper. He did this on six occasions, but the seventh time the sailors smashed the presses. Sokolsky got away by fleeing out the rear exit. It's too bad that the navy men did not post a guard at the back door.

There is very little evidence available that Sokolsky at any time was friendly to the working class. On the other hand, his whole career is a blueprint on the development of a super-rat whose services have always been for sale to the worst enemies of the masses.

Denver, Colo. L. K.

Relief for Loyalists

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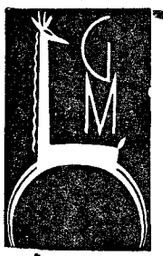

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Words as Weapons

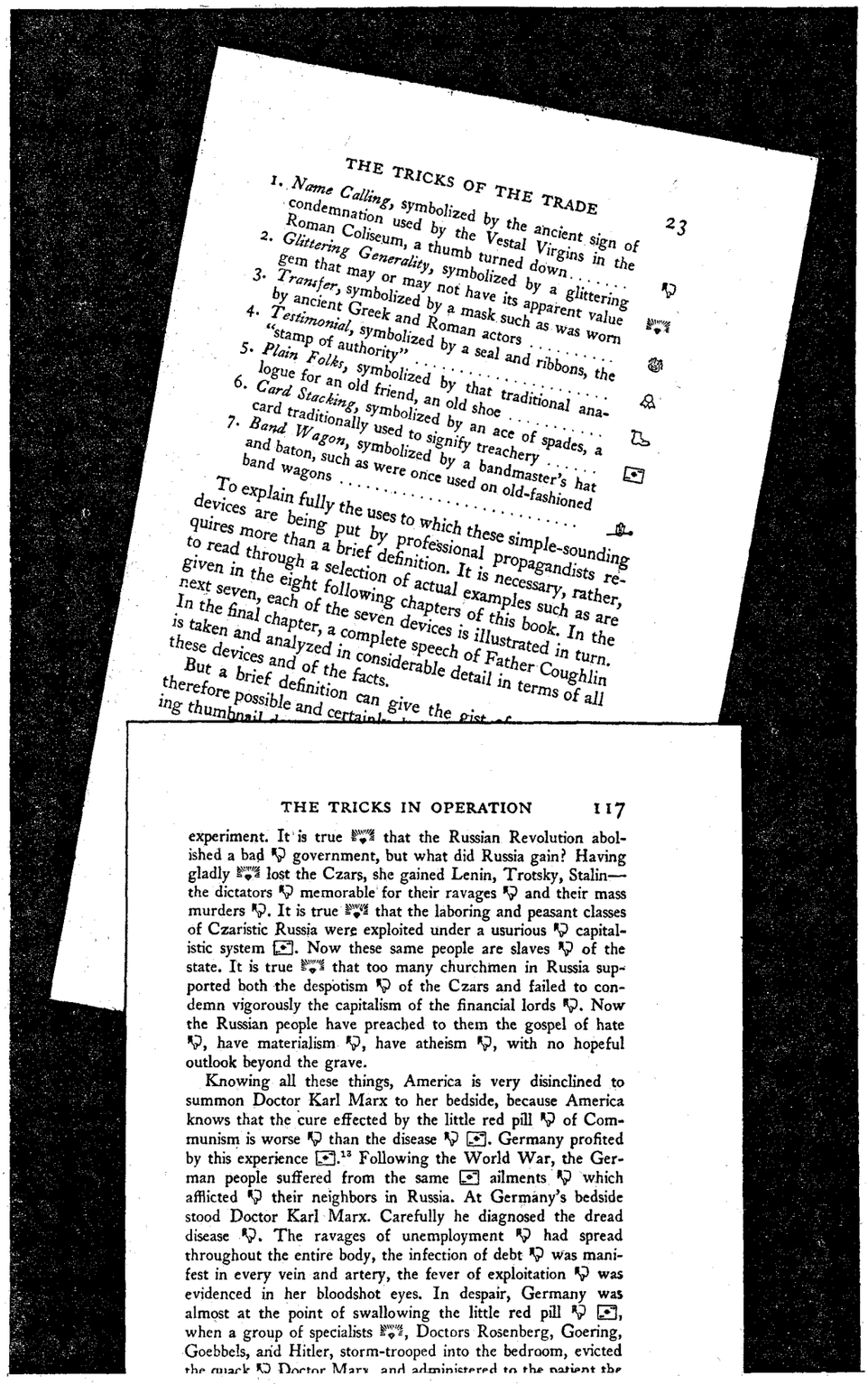
The Institute for Propaganda Analysis publishes an expose of Coughlin's imported-from-Germany propaganda devices. "The Fine Art of Propaganda" reviewed by Samuel Sillen.

On Nov. 14, 1938, Charles E. Coughlin's *Social Justice* pronounced a doctrine which makes all other heresies seem virtuous: "THE ONLY SOURCE OF TRUTH IS FATHER COUGHLIN." Just three weeks later the magazine carried an article entitled "Background of Persecution." This article was a word-for-word reprint, with a few minor variations, of a speech delivered at the Seventh Nazi Conference in Nuremberg. The speech was made by Paul Joseph Goebbels. When it appeared as a special feature in *Social Justice* it was signed by Coughlin. To have been really consistent, *Social Justice* should have declared that "THE ONLY SOURCE OF TRUTH IS PROPAGANDA MINISTER GOEBBELS."

The Nazis issue a propaganda sheet called *World-Service*. The masthead states that this leaflet, printed in six languages, is to be passed "from hand to hand amongst Gentiles." It purports to deal with "the machinations of the Jewish underworld." Coughlin incorporated one of these papers almost word-for-word in a speech that he delivered on Dec. 4, 1938. But in the speech he attributed his "information" not to *World-Service* but to the U. S. Secret Service!

The extent to which Coughlin has copied Nazi ideas and techniques is examined in a timely and useful volume just issued by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. *The Fine Art of Propaganda* (edited by Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee; Harcourt, Brace & Co. Cloth, $1.50; paper, 75c) analyzes the radio speeches of the Poison-Oak priest "because they represent a fairly typical borrowing of foreign anti-democratic propaganda methods by an American propagandist." The verbal devices used by Coughlin to distort, fake, and insinuate are catalogued and compared with their prototypes in Berlin.

Seven chief "tricks of the trade" are noted. Each is accompanied by an appropriate visual symbol (see illustration at right). The mystifying terms hitherto employed by propaganda analysts are discarded in favor of the simple and familiar phrases which the man on the street long ago coined to describe "hot air" and "baloney" techniques: Name Calling, Glittering Generality, Transfer (carrying the authority and prestige of the respected over to something else in order to make the latter either acceptable or invidious), Testimonial (or "testiphony," as the boys in Harry Bridges' union described the first weeks of the hearing on Angel Island), Plain Folks, Card Stacking, and Bandwagon. Each of these devices is explained and illustrated in a separate chapter. The final chapter consists of a Coughlin radio speech in which all seven devices are employed.



THE TRICKS OF THE TRADE 23

1. *Name Calling*, symbolized by the ancient sign of condemnation used by the Vestal Virgins in the Roman Coliseum, a thumb turned down .....
2. *Glittering Generality*, symbolized by a glittering gem that may or may not have its apparent value .....
3. *Transfer*, symbolized by a mask such as was worn by ancient Greek and Roman actors .....
4. *Testimonial*, symbolized by a seal and ribbons, the "stamp of authority" .....
5. *Plain Folks*, symbolized by that traditional analogue for an old friend, an old shoe .....
6. *Card Stacking*, symbolized by an ace of spades, a card traditionally used to signify treachery .....
7. *Band Wagon*, symbolized by a bandmaster's hat and baton, such as were once used on old-fashioned band wagons .....

To explain fully the uses to which these simple-sounding devices are being put by professional propagandists requires more than a brief definition. It is necessary, rather, to read through a selection of actual examples such as are given in the eight following chapters of this book. In the next seven, each of the seven devices is illustrated in turn. In the final chapter, a complete speech of Father Coughlin is taken and analyzed in considerable detail in terms of all these devices and of the facts.

But a brief definition can give the gist of ... therefore possible and certain ... ing thumbnail ...

THE TRICKS IN OPERATION 117

experiment. It is true [symbol] that the Russian Revolution abolished a bad [symbol] government, but what did Russia gain? Having gladly [symbol] lost the Czars, she gained Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin—the dictators [symbol] memorable for their ravages [symbol] and their mass murders [symbol]. It is true [symbol] that the laboring and peasant classes of Czaristic Russia were exploited under a usurious [symbol] capitalistic system [symbol]. Now these same people are slaves [symbol] of the state. It is true [symbol] that too many churchmen in Russia supported both the despotism [symbol] of the Czars and failed to condemn vigorously the capitalism of the financial lords [symbol]. Now the Russian people have preached to them the gospel of hate [symbol], have materialism [symbol], have atheism [symbol], with no hopeful outlook beyond the grave.

Knowing all these things, America is very disinclined to summon Doctor Karl Marx to her bedside, because America knows that the cure effected by the little red pill [symbol] of Communism is worse [symbol] than the disease [symbol] [symbol]. Germany profited by this experience [symbol].[13] Following the World War, the German people suffered from the same [symbol] ailments [symbol] which afflicted [symbol] their neighbors in Russia. At Germany's bedside stood Doctor Karl Marx. Carefully he diagnosed the dread disease [symbol]. The ravages of unemployment [symbol] had spread throughout the entire body, the infection of debt [symbol] was manifest in every vein and artery, the fever of exploitation [symbol] was evidenced in her bloodshot eyes. In despair, Germany was almost at the point of swallowing the little red pill [symbol] [symbol], when a group of specialists [symbol], Doctors Rosenberg, Goering, Goebbels, and Hitler, storm-trooped into the bedroom, evicted the quack [symbol] Doctor Marx, and administered to the patient the

TRICKS OF THE TRADE. *Two pages from "The Fine Art of Propaganda," which analyzes the propaganda devices borrowed by Charles E. Coughlin from fascist sources. The top illustration gives the visual key to these devices. The other applies the key to a typical passage from a Coughlin radio speech.*

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lin speech analyzed in terms of the devices and of the actual facts.

These techniques are not the unique possession of Coughlin, of course. His reactionary colleagues play the same game, and they play it well. On the day that *The Fine Art of Propaganda* was published I noted some gems of linguistic quackery in the New York *Sun*. Glance at the reproduction on page 22 and draw your own illustrations. Commenting on President Roosevelt's Thanksgiving Proclamation, the *Sun* asks: "Is the experimental devaluation of Thanksgiving an attempt to find out how much the American people value traditions and precedents?" The front-page headline that day: "DOWNPOUR IN QUEENS STALLS SUBWAY/GANG IS PINNED IN WPA DITCH." A news item: "A police permit will be issued for the social justice parade [no capitals or quotes] planned for Saturday evening as an anti-Communist demonstration. . . ." And an editorial on the government's purchase of the Tennessee Electric Power Co. for $78,000,000 deplores the idea of *confiscation,* "New Deal socialism," and, killing two birds with one stone, the "Mexican-minded TVA."

What *is* propaganda? The Institute for Propaganda Analysis defines it as "expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to predetermined ends." In this sense there is very little that is written or spoken which does not fall under the head of propaganda. Used in this way, the term is a neutral description of a perfectly normal and pervasive process. The bawling infant is a propagandist. This very book is certainly designed to influence the opinions of people with respect to ends predetermined by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

I suspect that actual usage has made this definition terribly academic. The term propaganda, in everyday speech, is not a neutral counter. It is weighted with the connotation of deceit, trickery, pulling the wool over people's eyes. "Propaganda" has itself become a propaganda word, implying something dishonorable and distasteful. The reactionaries who try to dismiss the Soviet Pavilion as "nothing but propaganda" do not have the Institute's definition in mind. NEW MASSES editorials are quite deliberately designed to effect modifications of attitude; but that hardly makes us brothers under the skin to all other magazines which seek to influence opinion.

The distinction is a crucial one, I think. Unless it is made consistently and plainly, the whole emphasis of "propaganda analysis" will be laid on persuasive devices as such. What is significant about Coughlin is not so much the fact that he is trying to influence opinion and behavior, but that he is (1) influencing toward bad ends, and (2) influencing without regard to the objective truth of his assertions. What is significant about the Institute's analysis of Coughlin is that it is (1) influencing toward good ends, and (2) influencing without recourse to faking of the objective truth. Both are attempting to persuade their readers. But the "propaganda" of one is qualitatively different from that of the other. Their "predetermined ends" are poles apart: Coughlin's are in the interest of fascism; the Institute's in the interest of democracy. And there is, in the persuasive process itself, a vast difference in the degree of fidelity to truth which each displays. The instinct of the man on the street is sound when he attempts to distinguish between lying and truth-telling, however unscientific his terminology may be.

To some extent, this is recognized by the editors of *The Fine Art of Propaganda.* They urge the reader to study persuasive devices so that he may look through them to the realities which they so often cloak. They make a distinction between "good" and "bad" propaganda. They do not pretend—like so many recent students of the subject—to be entirely above the battle.

But even here one senses a real danger. Reviewing Thurman Arnold's *The Folklore of Capitalism* for NEW MASSES last year, Kenneth Burke called it a "corrosive without corrective." Stuart Chase's *The Tyranny of Words* is a corrosive too, but purely on the linguistic level. The danger of such works is that by reducing the complexities of life to problems of verbal meaning, they shift attention away from the main object, the reality behind the word. Too often they succeed in creating a mood of skepticism which borders on paralysis. Objectively, this sort of thing carried far enough may have the same effect, in reverse, as the techniques of Coughlin. For while Coughlin bends the ear with seductive devices, Chase would have us immobilize our own vocabulary of persuasion, which must operate even more forcefully if Coughlin is to be resisted.

Thus, it is with amazement that we read Clyde R. Miller's attack, in the preface to this volume, on those who "would meet dangerous propagandas with direct counter-attacks—with so-called counter-propaganda. . . ." How, then, is Coughlin to be resisted? Blowing away his smokescreen helps a good deal. But in that process we defeat ourselves if we abandon our own persuasive offense.

Perhaps I can clarify the point by alluding to my own experience as a teacher. I find it imperative to correct the uncritical reading habits of the average student. He tends, at the outset, to accept what he sees in print, mainly because he is too honest himself to suspect a writer whose words have been given the dignity of print. He soon learns to see through the obvious deceits. He becomes conscious of verbal trickery. But after a while he may become merely cynical about "high-sounding" words and phrases, without reference to their purpose or their integrity. He is now in danger of dismissing ideas as "words . . . words . . . words," as "propaganda." This reaction against his former ingenuousness may lead to a condition as bad as the original one. Because a demagogue has made a mockery of the word "democracy" is no reason for smiling when the word is used by

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a Lincoln or a Jefferson. Propaganda analysis, to be fully effective, must at every point place as much emphasis on motivation, correspondence to reality, and, above all, actual meaning and effect within a given social context, as it does on persuasive techniques.

Because the Institute, for all the extremely valuable work it has done, sometimes overlooks the social reality, it can assert that "our eight hundred fascist and near-fascist organizations . . . are not becoming as yet a serious threat to American democracy in our new world of mass discussion." But these eight hundred organizations are a serious threat, and at this very moment. For the propaganda apparatus which they command is only one expression of an underlying link with immensely more powerful financiers and industrialists who do not figure overtly in that propaganda. It is not only from words that democracy is under attack. And I would challenge the assertion that "despite shortcomings" the "American press tries to maintain a spirit of give-and-take in its pages, to give the reader the facts and statements of opinion by the chief spokesmen for opposing pressure groups." Compared to the press in Germany? Yes. But what a sorry state of affairs when we must use *that* as a standard of comparison!

One further point. Answering Coughlin's fascist equation of "Communist-Jew," this book asserts categorically that both Jews and Communists agree that no man can be both. But on the very same page there are references to works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Browder which unequivocally denounce the idea of any racial or religious qualification for membership in the Communist Party. The contradiction is palpable.

For all that, *The Fine Art of Propaganda* is a valuable contribution to the democratic struggle against Coughlinism and all those eight hundred groups in America which "sing the same tune—words and music by Adolf Hitler, orchestration by Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels."

SAMUEL SILLEN.

Soviet Study

"Russia Without Illusions: Seven Years in the Soviet Union."

READERS who look for sensationalism will not find it in this book (*Russia Without Illusions: Seven Years in the Soviet Union.* Modern Age Books, Inc., 75 cents). This is not a tale of release from oppression, nor indulgence in heartrending disillusionment. You will find here honesty, painstaking attention to detail, sober conviction, a reluctance to be caught in purely emotional or sentimental reactions to the USSR.

Pat Sloan was slow to write a book. He thought enough books had been written by visitors to the Soviet Union. But as anti-Soviet writers, professional enemies, or saddened liberals and radicals tossed book after book into the heap of hostile propaganda, Pat Sloan decided that he ought to tell what he felt and knew about this vast country where he lived and worked for seven years. He first went there in 1931 as a teacher of English at the Technicum of Foreign Languages. Later he traveled about, worked with Intourist, worked for three years in a Soviet organization, became a trade union organizer, lived much of the time with Soviet families. During the time from 1931 to 1938 he returned to England for long enough periods to make comparisons, to reflect upon what he had seen, to study background material and theory, in preparation for his further experience in the USSR. He has a right to speak.

Pat Sloan entered the Soviet Union at a time when the First Five Year Plan was not completed, when collectivized agriculture was still relatively disorganized, when basic consumer supplies, including bread, were rationed. He saw the bad harvest year of 1932.

The continuity of Sloan's view of events in the USSR is unusual. He was there to see the consolidation of success after the long struggle on the farming front, he saw the years of good harvest after 1932 and the gradual abolition of ration cards for bread and all other necessities, the growing abundance of consumers' goods, the general lowering of prices, increases in wages and services to the workers, the rise in living standards and cultural opportunities. He saw steady improvement, but he does not minimize or gloss over shortcomings and lacks, whether in housing, in transportation, or in quality of goods. His confidence in the capacity of the Soviet people is high and he counts on their ability, will, and persistence to eliminate defects and inadequacies in their living and in their system.

The book, in addition to Sloan's modest account of his own experiences, is enriched by pertinent descriptions of certain aspects of life in czarist Russia, drawn from factual accounts by Stephen Graham, E. J. Dillon, a British journalist, and others.

The most illuminating part of Sloan's experience in the USSR, for purposes of information, is his work in a trade union, where he was a rank and file member and then organizer. To those who want to know the day-to-day human functioning of a Soviet trade union, its scope and its powers, its relationship to the state, to planning in industry, and to policy making, this section will be of special interest. Because of the trade unions' constant touch on the pulse of the workers, because of the various facilities for self-expression and criticism, Sloan feels that decisions made in the Soviet Union are almost always truly representative of popular will and need. In the same way he indicates that the leaders are without question representative and worthy of trust. In his mind this explains and justifies the tendency toward hero worship which might otherwise be pernicious. He labors this last point somewhat too hard, and by the zeal of his persuasion almost fails to persuade.

Sloan discusses several general questions, such as the degree to which socialism has

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been achieved in the Soviet Union and the validity of a one party system. On the first point he emphasizes the fact that socialism has been established and in working order in the USSR for only five or six years. In his discussion of party functioning he presents clearly the reasons why the political system operates as it has up to the present, but, in my opinion, oversimplifies considerably when he states that there will probably be no ground for development of issues in the Soviet Union from which various working class parties might emerge.

His chapters on the history of the organized opposition and its fate are informative and sober. Some people will read them and still disagree with his conclusions, but they cannot deny the objectivity of his approach. When he deals with the ranks of disillusioned writers about the USSR he is sharp and unsparing. His comments on Gide are especially trenchant and lead him to some acute observations on the actual and potential function of the writer in a workers' society.

Sloan summarizes the positive achievements of the Soviet Union, without apologies for whatever backwardness he admits. He feels that the Soviet system

> can stand on its own merit today before the vast masses of the laboring people of all countries. . . . But even then, when a world socialist community is attained, this system will never be "like Caesar's wife." The essence of a world socialist community will be not its perfection but its imperfection. For only imperfection can act as a driving force for progress when the profit motive has been eliminated. Criticism will aim not at restoring the old but at perfecting the new.

MARGARET I. LAMONT.

The Hudson River

Carl Carmer tells the story of a valley in terms of its people.

IN THE preface to Carl Carmer's book *The Hudson* ($2.50)—the sixth in Farrar & Rinehart's series on rivers of America—the author volunteers, "There is more in this volume about large groups and the leaders that represent them than there is about individuals who became uniquely distinguished—more about tenants than landlords, more about privates than generals, more about workers than employers." That is a fortunate but almost unavoidable choice. For Mr. Carmer to have portrayed the Hudson in any terms other than the ones he chose would have deprived the river of most of its individuality and much of its personality.

In 1524, Giovanni da Verrazano sailed into the mouth of the Hudson, but was forced to retreat in the face of a contrary wind. Eighty-five years later, Henry Hudson continued as far as Haverstraw Bay and claimed the new territory for the Dutch. It was this initial Dutch stamp upon the region that characterized many of its institutions.

The patroon system, for example, was the inspiration for subsequent forms of landlordism, but it did more than serve as a model for future river barons; it previewed their difficulties with rebellious farmers. William Prendergast scared the knickerbockers right off the landlords and burghers when, with a hastily assembled but determined army of "levelers," he marched from Quaker Hill down the east bank of the Hudson, to the outskirts of New York City, and back. He continued to spread terror among the landlords with his now well drilled farmer army. Finally caught by the militia, sentenced to hang by the landlords' court, pardoned at the last minute because of the efforts of his Quaker wife, Prendergast died at the age of eighty-four, the first rebel against Hudson Valley injustice.

Between the Prendergast rebellion of 1754 and the "Tin-Horn Rebellion" ninety years later, Carmer has sandwiched several chapters, of which at least one deals with an event of some historical importance. Except for the Tories, farm and landlord family alike united to stem the British raid up the Hudson, and they finally succeeded, though not without loss of life and property. Kingston, for example, was burned to the ground. But though the Livingstons, et al, could flee by carriage to wealthy Connecticut relatives, the farmer fought or lost his land.

Dr. Smith Boughton, of Hudson, was the next man to consider seriously the difference between landlord and farmer, and his consideration was followed by appropriate action. A band of white "down-renters," garbed in calico, war paint, and feathers, and blowing tin horns mightily, raised such a rumpus among the river aristocrats that the whole state militia was called out to quell the "Tin-Horn Rebellion." Boughton was captured and imprisoned, but was pardoned two years later in 1846, which date, according to Carmer, saw "the adoption of the state constitution . . . which at long last did away with feudalism in the Hudson Valley."

Feudalism, perhaps, but not intolerable conditions for the small farmer, who, for instance, was often squeezed out if his few acres lay between the estates of two river families. Another favorite indoor sport of the estate owners is to vacate their river homes and live abroad or in the city, thus forcing the hundreds of their employees, mostly farm laborers and domestics, to migrate to an already poverty-stricken town. Tivoli, once a "dream town" of the Hudson, has a notoriously high rate of delinquency and pauperism for that reason. Feudalism may have ended in 1846, but for the Hudson Valley the burden of sustaining thousands of unproductive acres had just begun.

The Hudson River has seen experiments come and go. Owenites settled the Franklin Community at Haverstraw for six months. A vegetarian colony sprang up at Highland. More successful was a group of eleven Jews from New York who established something of a Jerusalem in the Shawangunk Mountains.

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Their refuge, which they called "Sholem" (Peace), lasted four years. Today, at Milton and West Park, there are two of Father Divine's heavens, serving chicken dinners at 15 cents.

Carl Carmer hasn't neglected much here. He deals adequately with the men and forces which shaped all but the geography of the Hudson, but he also tells of the ill-fated *Henry Clay* and *Armenia* steamboat race, of whaling vessels and witches, of eight-sided houses and German refugees, bonanzas and ghost towns, lumbermen and silver-backed shad, the *Mary Powell* and rowdy, hot-tempered Dutchmen. He might have touched upon John Burroughs of West Park, and his friend and visitor, Walt Whitman, or mentioned that singular man of letters, John Jay Chapman. And through some cartographical error on the frontispiece map, Greene County is called Catskill County. But such trivial imperfections do not disturb the whole effect of Carmer's well informed, masterly, and sympathetic treatment of the many aspects of fact and legend along the Hudson River.

WALTER H. WAGGONER.

The African People

Dr. Carter Godwin Woodson's "African Heroes and Heroines."

OVER many centuries African men and women have fought, as warriors, writers, teachers, editors, and organizers, to preserve the independence of their homelands. The resistance of the Ethiopian people to fascist domination—a resistance which continues today despite Mussolini's formal conquest—is only the most recent example.

Dr. Carter Godwin Woodson tells the story of this long fight, against the background of the rich, complex, and highly developed cultures of the many states of Africa. (*African Heroes and Heroines,* Associated Publishers, Inc., $2.15.) "Every conquered valley," he writes, "had a shrine which marked some heroic stand. Every tribal center could erect an altar on the spot where sons of Africa died for their fatherland."

A few facts are enough to bare the hypocrisy of the imperialist arguments "justifying" the seizure of Africa. The slave trade within the continent, for example, was chiefly the result of conscious imperialist policies which deliberately bred inner warfare and helped to elevate and to maintain in power those African rulers most amenable to the extension of the trade. The high development of African culture and governmental forms riddles the notion that Africans are incapable of self-development and self-government.

In a powerful last chapter, Dr. Woodson discusses the grievances and the aspirations of Africans today. It is unfortunate that he failed to bring forward in this connection the special danger that now constitutes Africa's worst menace—the danger of the spread of fascism, of the seizure of additional portions of

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ELIZABETH LAWSON.

The Americas

Two books, by Katherine Carr and John T. Whitaker.

KATHERINE CARR'S *South American Primer* (Reynal & Hitchcock, $1.75) and John T. Whitaker's *Americas to the South* (Macmillan Co., $2.50) both contain plenty of facts about South and Latin America. Certainly, the facts are necessary, if Americans are to understand the great significance of America's position in the Western Hemisphere, the great potentialities for our own economic security and the stability of democracy in all Western nations which are realizable if strong progressive policies are pursued. Miss Carr's book is avowedly for people who want more than travel guides and business statistics, a great deal less than these, and a great deal more. Her story is a concise, historical review of the South American peoples, and withal, a competent job. Her emphasis on the dangers of fascist penetration both to the Latin American countries and ourselves is adequate; her understanding of how dangerous the Franco victory in Spain will be for the progress of the good neighbor policy reveals a similar sensitivity. But I do not feel that she really understands what the good neighbor policy is, from what roots in American economic history it springs, and why, in its consistent, many-sided development there lies, first, the partial solution of many problems of capitalism-in-crisis; second, the hope of extending democracy on a sound economic basis for the Latin American countries; and third, the bulwark against fascist penetration.

Mr. Whitaker's book is of another genre. He is of that great body of American correspondents who "saw it happen" in Europe during the last decade. He writes a fast-moving book, facts, figures, conversations: interviews with key people. Especially exciting are his conversations with Cardenas and Toledano in Mexico. You get the feel of trends, of people, of flux and change. He understands what happened in Europe, especially the meaning of the year 1938, but I cannot say that he draws all the necessary conclusions. Urging the implementation of the good neighbor policy, Whitaker proposes four measures: resistance to attack upon any American nation as though its soil were our own, a board of national strategy whose first job is to build

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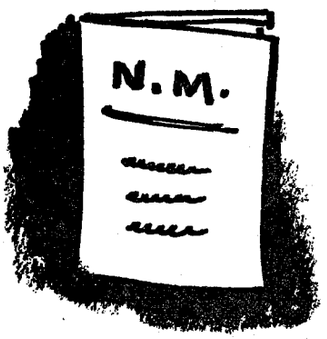

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3. Slogans must not exceed five words but may be less.
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the Nicaraguan Canal, the development of a Western free trade system, and the formation of a Western League of Nations. The urgency with which such measures are put forth is excellent. But taken alone, the net result is a peculiar kind of "hemisphere isolationism." The particular value of this book lies in the proof it gives that the United States never has been, and cannot be, isolated from hemisphere affairs. How unfortunate, therefore, to emphasize that the *hemisphere as a whole* avoids its responsibilities to world democracy in this hour.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

Low's Cartoons

An American edition of the work of an outstanding political artist.

SEVENTY-NINE of David Low's political cartoons are included in *A Cartoon History of Our Times* (Simon & Schuster, $2), the first collection of the work of the famous British caricaturist to be published in America. Quincy Howe has written the introduction and the brief date-fixing text that faces each reproduction. The cartoons first appeared from 1932 to 1939 in Lord Beaverbrook's London *Evening Standard* and some of them are also included in the two volumes of Low's work published in England.

Low's situation is of course unique. Because of his immense popularity he has been able consistently to attack the conservative government and the editorial position of his paper and even Beaverbrook himself with the aid of that muddle-headed fat tory Colonel Blimp. The cartoons in this volume, especially those in the "collective security" chapter, might well have appeared in NEW MASSES.

Low's style might be called oldfashioned. Certainly it is closer to that of the American cartoons of a generation ago than to the simply conceived, well designed work of Gropper, Fitzpatrick, and other contemporary Americans. But this is no time for quibbling. The one important job for a political cartoonist is to get his ideas across. Low certainly does that. And they are good ideas.

C. J.

S. F. Ramsey

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A Surprise Movie

Universal's new Charles Boyer picture contains an unfalsified strike . . . The last picture from Czechoslovakia, and Stanley & Livingstone.

THE new pictures are raining down on my head so fast that it took our business manager to send me to *When Tomorrow Comes,* by his recommendation that it was a pro-labor film. I took the tip with foreboding. After all, is he a movie critic? I imagined Carl Bristel had been worked into a fever of praise because Universal had portrayed a labor leader without a bomb in his hand.

I owe Mr. Bristel an apology and Universal a thunderous cheer. The waitresses' strike in *When Tomorrow Comes* is not the main business of the film, being costarred with a hurricane, a demented wife, and Charles Boyer, but while it holds the stage there isn't a false twist to it. The girls are first met while they are whispering the time of their strike meeting and taking care against labor spies. They hold a strike meeting which is realistically portrayed, including the singing of *Solidarity Forever* and speeches by their organizer and the rank and file, which everyone who has ever cast a strike vote will appreciate as true. Furthermore, they go on the picketline and win their walkout. I sat watching this incredible happening unfold waiting with captive breath for the gimmick, the twist that turned the strike in *Our Leading Citizen* into a rabbit punch at labor. The gimmick never came; Universal has the honor of portraying the first true strike sequence in Hollywood history. The audience at the Rivoli followed these matters with the easy laughter of people who have seen themselves on the screen. It was a kind of laugh you hardly ever hear.

Charles Boyer and Irene Dunne, as the wealthy pianist and the militant waitress, are involved in a tragic love which director John Stahl develops in his sincere and intimate manner through the strike, last year's Long Island hurricane, and the final frustration of the affair by Boyer's deranged wife. I would not rate the film a blue ribbon for originality but it is excellently acted, directed, and photographed. To the writers who are responsible for the strike scenes, Dwight Taylor and James M. Cain, labor should present its own academy award.

PRAHA'S LAST DEFIANCE

Out in Mount Pleasant, Pa., the summer hills are rocking with the antics of two lusty characters lately arrived from Czechoslovakia —the famous comedians, Voscovec (Vos-kovitz) and Werich (Va-rick). The big one, Werich, is built like Heywood Broun, but Heywood probably can't kick cigars out of someone's mouth, unless he surprised Pegler under a table. Voscovec is dark and comparatively slender, the more thoughtful side of the rowdy team. They are putting the finishing inflections on their English, which is a mere appurtenance to the universal language of pantomime which they speak with Charlie Chaplin and a handful of others. Czechs don't really have to bother much, except for grammar, because they think in American. Jaroslav Jezek (Yeshek), the small, almost blind composer who rounded out the famous trio of the Liberated Theater in Praha, is with them, too. Ten years ago Jezek heard a Duke Ellington record and from that point on he was an American composer. Jezek's hot jazz, scored on the basis of a series of instrumental solos, and a final all-in chorus, sounds strange played by Czech musicians, but he is the only "serious" composer I know of who understands the true jazz idiom.

When V+W appeared in Herbert Kline's *Crisis,* a month before the Nazi storm, they had just finished a stirring anti-Nazi film from their stage satire *Heads or Tails.* The picture is now being shown as *The World Is Ours* at the World Theater (N. Y.), screened from the only existing print, smuggled out of the Nazi protectorate. It is a smashing attack on the Nazis, despite the fact that the Czech censors had leaned so far in moderation of the anti-Nazi feeling before Munich as to ask the change of brownshirts to gray hats, Czechoslovakia to a mythical country, and the storm troopers to gangsters.

V+W play an unemployed pair who become involved in the struggle between the workers in the Noel factory and a coalition of Drexler (read Goebbels), Bernard Lion (Hitler), and the industrialist, Noel. The clowns rapidly discover which side they are on and help the strikers by revealing a cache of arms secreted by the gray hats. This ensures the workers' victory but V+W are feared destroyed in an explosion of the munitions. As the workers hold a great meeting of thanksgiving and pause to pay silent tribute to their two unknown heroes, the woozy pair emerge on the edge of the crowd. They are told to keep quiet. They stand in tribute to their own brave memories. There is something deeply symbolic in this end. Despite their screen warning, Chamberlain destroyed their people. But V+W came up from underground and found themselves in America. The Nazis will regret this yet.

The comedians have invented a couple of

RANK-AND-FILER IRENE DUNNE *takes the floor in the waitresses' strike meeting in "When Tomorrow Comes," remarkable pro-labor movie.*

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wonderful slapstick ideas, one of them a desperate battle with a roomful of machines, reminiscent of and as funny as Chaplin in *Modern Times*. When the gray hats are finally routed in a gas-filled room, V+W put the clincher on the victory by snipping off the gangster's gas mask tubes as they are lured single file across a runway.

The picture bears evidence of being made in haste and V+W work with the naturalness of ad lib, which was the pervading characteristic of their theater. Mac Fric, director of the fine film *Janosik*, the legend of a Czech great popular liberator (which is now a great hit in India) handles the direction of *The World Is Ours;* Jezek, the music. The English titles are presented very intelligently on an illuminated strip below the screen, something I have been waiting for quite a while. Necessity again gets a credit line for invention; the exhibitor did not have a negative on which to superimpose the titles.

Until Voscovec and Werich are ready to appear in the flesh this picture ably represents their art to America. It represents something else of democracy's challenge to barbarism that no one can ignore.

STANLEY AND LIVINGSTONE

Darryl Zanuck's change of heart on historical matters seems to be a trend. *Stanley and Livingstone,* of course, has Richard Greene and Nancy Kelly, but it is also one of Hollywood's most earnest historical efforts. Spencer Tracy is Henry Stanley, James Gordon Bennett's ace reporter, who brought the New York *Herald* back the biggest scoop of the nineteenth century by traveling into the interior of Africa to find the missionary, Dr. Livingstone. Much of the footage was shot on the African plateau by an expeditionary crew in the Tanganyika National Park and it is accompanied in the picture by a low-voiced narration from Stanley's diary, spoken by Mr. Tracy. The effect is a soberly beautiful sequence that keys the whole picture. The documentary effects could have gone much further. For instance when Dr. Livingstone's native Sunday School class swings *Onward Christian Soldiers* in Cotton Club English with the sedate doctor doing a Cab Calloway, it will considerably pain those souls who are aware that hymn-singing on the Dark Continent is always in the native dialects and hardly considered such a light matter. I want to ask Mr. Zanuck, wouldn't the song have had twice the wallop if it had been sung in tribal language?

The picture has no trace of chauvinism and several scenes intelligently depict the African. Spencer Tracy is excellent, as always, with good support from Sir Cedric Hardwicke as Livingstone, Walter Brennan as Stanley's companion from Wyoming, and Henry Travers in an original little role of an Englishman touched by the African air. Philip Dunne and Julian Josephson have a fine screenplay to their credit and the changes they have made in the actual happenings are justified by the dramatic needs of the story.

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HIL-BERT HOUSE, Lake Mahopac, N. Y. 150 acres of rolling countryside, 40 miles from N. Y. Tennis; other sports facilities. Delicious, wholesome food. Moderate rates; families accommodated. Open all year. Tel. Mahopac 2083. Hill Friedberg, N. Applebaum.

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Livingstone and Stanley were newspaper inventions anyway. If James Gordon Bennett could make the news, Darryl Zanuck can remake it. Henry King, the director, has kept the preposterous note nicely stifled. *Stanley and Livingstone* is a superior movie.

"FIFTH AVENUE GIRL"

Even such snappy people as Ginger Rogers, Walter Connolly, and Verree Teasdale can't get me worked up on the redemption of the misunderstood and neglected tycoon, which is the staggering burden of RKO's *Fifth Avenue Girl,* entered at Radio City Music Hall. Director Gregory La Cava, w. › gathered prestige with *Stage Door,* sews away at this sow's ear as though he expected to turn out a silk coverlet. The usual ignorant, snickering portrayal of the Red is given to James Ellison, who uses "proletariat" as an adjective.

The picture begins with a negotiation meeting between magnate Connolly and union representatives in which the distressed millionaire confesses a man can't run his own business any more, what with the unions and the SEC, "the XYZ and I don't know what all." Score the first tory crack for 1940.

JAMES DUGAN.

Pins and Needles 1939

After many a moon a reviewer revisits the ILGWU show.

IT WAS a long time ago that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union members opened their modest little revue and found themselves with the season's musical hit on their hands. Bolstered up by six or seven new songs and sketches, it is still going strong in New York City at the air-conditioned Windsor Theater.

The latest addition is Harold Rome's "Mene, Mene, Tekel," a spiritual based on the handwriting-on-the-wall story from the Book of David and a present-day warning to dictators. Superbly sung by Dorothy Harrison, it stands head and shoulders above the rest of the show. And the rest of the show is still plenty good.

BARNABY HOTCHKISS.

Charles Martin

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